

Hong Kong Time Bomb

By Peter Dally

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The British Anti-Communist Council

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Hong Kong

Time Bomb

By Peter Dally

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The views expressed in this book are those of the author and not necessarily those of the officers and members of The British Anti-Communist Council.

This Monograph is dedicated to the
people of Hong Kong whose liberty is now in great peril.

AIMS OF THE BRITISH ANTI-COMMUNIST COUNCIL (BACC)

1. To make the British people aware of the dangers of Communism in Britain through infiltration into the Trades Union and Labour Movement, and other institutions.
2. To make people aware of the methods and aims of the international Communist movement and of the threat to Britain's freedom and security through subversion internally and aggression externally.
3. To make available to members, material and information which can be used to counter or expose Communist propaganda in the ideological struggle for the hearts and minds of the people.
4. To support the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) of which the BACC is the duly established National UK Chapter.
5. To raise funds and organize such activities as appropriate to support the foregoing.

What is the WACL?

It is an organization of freedom-loving peoples all over the world dedicated to the cause of human dignity, peace, and democracy based on justice, self-determination, and independence of nations. Naturally, it is against Communism which has always been and will always be the antithesis of freedom, justice, and the preservation of the dignity of the human person. It seeks to promote the exchange of cultural and informational material among freedom loving peoples to neutralize Communist strategy and tactics. To develop political and psychological warfare methods and to expose and counteract Communism.

Introduction

THE FORMULA FOR BETRAYAL

The following two contradictory statements were made by the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, in Hong Kong on 20 April 1984: 'It would not be realistic to think of an agreement that provides for continued British administration in Hong Kong after 1997.'

'There can be no question of Her Majesty's Government commending to Parliament, or to Hong Kong, an Agreement which would not offer assured prospects of preserving this way of life.'

How are the 'prospects' to be 'assured'? And by whom? How are 'internationally binding' (a phrase used by Sir Geoffrey Howe) agreements to be protected from Beijing's own interpretation? And when Sir Geoffrey Howe speaks of 'commending' an agreement 'to Hong Kong' does he mean a referendum?

The short answer to all these questions is that the British Government will 'commend' any agreement which it can persuade the Communists to accept — and that most certainly will not be 'internationally binding' because any such conditions would infringe upon China's sovereignty and therefore be utterly unacceptable.

It is also extremely unlikely that the British Government will countenance a referendum in Hong Kong for the simple reason that the predictable outcome would be a humiliating slap in the face for the Communist regime in Beijing. A regime which denies a genuine free vote to its 1 billion captive peoples is hardly likely to accept a genuine free vote from the 5½ million Hong Kong Chinese.

This book is dedicated to the people of Hong Kong who currently enjoy the protection of the British Crown, but who are about to be handed over to the Chinese Communist regime in Beijing. This will become one of the biggest betrayals in history, and may well trigger off one of the biggest refugee problems in modern times.

In Britain, both in and out of Parliament, there is a defeatist view that there is no alternative but to give in to the Communist dictators in Beijing, and get the best possible terms by 'trusting' them because otherwise they will simply take what they want.

When this kind of policy was applied to Hitler pre-World War II, it was described as 'appeasement'. We have since then claimed that the lesson learned is that dictators cannot be appeased with safety. They must be resisted. When Britain negotiated an 'agreement' with Hitler over his claim to the Sudetenland, Hitler later stated that the British

had handed them to him on a silver platter. The 'piece of paper' which the British Prime Minister waved with Hitler's signature on it turned out to be utterly worthless.

Now Britain is trusting in another 'piece of paper', an agreement with the Communist Government in Beijing. In Britain's approach, it seems that any alternative, except that which is in reality a sell-out disguised as 'Peace in our time', is being dismissed as being impracticable.

I totally reject this view. It is the kind of approach and argument which has either produced or contributed to disasters of the past. There is no need, let alone moral or legal justification, for such a policy.

The 'problem' of Hong Kong will not go away, even with the proposed fudged sell-out, because there will be a tide of refugees for which Britain will be held responsible. The prospect of a million or more Hong Kong Chinese trying to escape Communism to get to Britain, and being refused will be as embarrassing as it will be politically unacceptable to British MP's constituents, who will be thoroughly alarmed at the prospect of having to accept 1, 2 or possibly 3 million Hong Kong refugees. These refugees will have some claim to British citizenship-albeit a claim not now fully recognized by the British Government, which wishes to restrict immigration for political and economic reasons.

In Hong Kong we are witnessing the making of a political and economic disaster. This will create a mass of human misery. China is Communist today mainly because Britain and the United States trusted the Soviet dictator Stalin's word at Yalta. Before that, Sir Stafford Cripps, the British Ambassador to Moscow told the newsreels that he had been personally assured by Stalin that the Soviet Union had absolutely no desire or intention to interfere in the internal affairs of another country.

We are now compounding those blunders. We are once again entrusting the lives and future happiness of millions of people currently under the British flag, to the promises of Communists, who are presently engaged in a bloody purge of their own Communist party.

The excuse this time is that of an 'expired treaty'. This ignores the small matter of sovereignty, apparently so important when blood was being shed in the South Atlantic over the Falklands.

There is to be no referendum, as there was in Gibraltar, for the obvious reason that everyone knows what the result would be — a massive anti-Communist vote. As Communists do not allow votes without a guaranteed outcome, we are already obliging them by avoiding any such embarrassment.

So much for the oft proclaimed right of 'self determination' and the belief that the 'wishes of the inhabitants are paramount' voiced by so many as the British task force sailed south to retake the Falklands 'to

secure justice and freedom' and 'to make the world safe from aggressors' etc.

This book explains why the present policy is so wrong, short-sighted and doomed to disaster. It tries to be constructive in the interests of all concerned, not only the Hong Kong Belongers and the hundreds of thousands who have joined them, but also the interests of Britain and the free world.

Let us not forget the thousands of Vietnamese Boat People in the enclosed 'concentration camps' on Lantau Island, Hong Kong. They would rather face an unknown future behind the wire than live under Communism in Vietnam.

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Chapter 1

LEGACY OF EMPIRE

We British are a peculiar people. Our island home has never been occupied or subjugated since William The Conqueror, Duke of Normandy, enforced his claim to the English Crown through his victorious army and was duly crowned and annointed in Westminster Abbey on Christmas Day 1066.

Since then, the British army has at one time or another fought upon, marched upon and occupied or otherwise 'protected' a wide variety of lands and cities throughout the world. The British have at some time and in some way made their presence felt, from Calais in France, within sight of English soil, to Christchurch in New Zealand at the opposite end of the earth, from Dublin in Eire to Durban in South Africa, from New York to Beijing, from Berlin to Buenos Aires, from Singapore to Shanghai, from Archangel in north Russia to Adelaide in South Australia.

No island was too remote for the British Crown to claim, for example; St. Helena, where Napoleon was imprisoned, and the Falklands, 8,000 miles away at the bottom of the world. No country was too vast from which the British wrung concessions, such as China which yielded in perpetuity, the Island of Hong Kong and the adjacent mainland tip of Kowloon.

This extraordinary expansion of influence from a comparatively small island off the northwest coast of Europe, has left a number of legacies. One is the (British) Commonwealth, a unique free association of sovereign states whose common ancestry is that they have at some time all been possessions of the British Crown.

Among the other legacies, there is one that concerns us particularly. It consists of the untidy, unresolved 'bits of empire' which are left over from the great decolonization process that has been proceeding in some way for the greater part of this century. It is the Crown colony of Hong Kong.

At the end of World War II, Britain was yet again victorious, but also economically exhausted and in decline. Britain gave up the Palestine Mandate and thus gave birth to Israel. This triggered off the first of the modern series of Middle East wars. One of these succeeding wars in 1956 threatened Britain's 'vital trade and supply route', the Suez canal, and provoked what came to be regarded as the 'last colo-

nial police action' in the form of the joint Anglo-French landing in Egypt. It was a humiliating episode which divided Britain internally, and caused an Anglo-American rift with economic and financial pressures. This caused the British forces, first to halt half-way down the canal and then to withdraw.

It was generally accepted from then on that Britain was no longer a global power. Britain could not, as in the past, pursue a 'gunboat diplomacy', however justified, simply because it lacked the economic and military strength to project its power far beyond its own geo-political region. That roughly coincided with the area of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Should any remote residue of empire be threatened, it followed that any solution would have to be political rather than military. Token military forces would however continue to be stationed in these areas for internal security reasons and to act as a 'trip wire' should foreign forces try to pre-empt any discussions aimed at a political settlement.

This view was further reinforced by the United States 'Vietnam trauma' where the political will of the Americans was drained away by daily television exposure to the horrors of war. The impact of colour television had never before been experienced in such a situation, and the effect of uncensored reporting of a seemingly endless 'foreign war', caused much reassessment among the political and military leaders of the Nato powers. If the Americans had that kind of trouble fighting Communism, then clearly anything which smacked of old fashioned colonialism would be totally unacceptable to the electorate of the modern open democracies.

If, therefore, the Chinese Communists wanted to take Hong Kong, there is nothing militarily which Britain could do. Likewise, if Argentina only 300 miles away, really wanted to take the Falklands by force, there was nothing militarily which Britain, 8,000 miles away could do. After all, Britain's military resources were stretched tying down thousands of troops in Northern Ireland instead of deploying them for the benefit of Nato. The suggestion that the Britain of the 1980's could effectively engage in military operations in distant parts, well outside the Nato area, was simply as unrealistic as it was obsolete. Britain had withdrawn from East of Suez and had long ceased to play the role of a World power. While Britain still had the world's third largest navy, Britain remained a powerful and important member of Nato and of the European Community. Beyond that, it was merely another former European colonial power.

Falklands

Then Argentina seized the Falklands. The day before that seizure, I was in the Argentine embassy in London discussing the 'South Georgia incident'. This was where a group of Argentine 'scrap metal merchants' had raised the Argentine flag in an act of defiance against Britain. My Argentine friend and I agreed that the increased tension bet-

ween our countries was mainly produced by the media, and that the idea of armed conflict was ridiculous. Were there not more people of British descent in Argentina than in any other country outside the British Commonwealth? Were there not ten times as many British passport holders living in Argentina as there were people living on the Falklands? Conflict between two such friendly countries with so much in common was clearly absurd.

The absurd, however, happened. The Argentine military, convinced that Britain lacked both the political will and the military means to do anything but accept the accomplished fact, seized the islands. This was achieved without killing one single British soldier or one islander, although there was shooting and light Argentine casualties.

Britain's long history includes many examples of where wars have begun because some foreigner has been convinced that Britain either would not or could not fight. The last most notable case was World War II. Then, Nazi Germany attacked Poland, convinced that if the British Government tried to invoke the Anglo-Polish treaty, then that Government would fall and be replaced, in Hitler's words 'by the Party (Labour Party) of peace at any price'.

Looking at Britain objectively from a foreigner's point of view, the German's assessments in 1939 and the Argentinians in 1982 were quite reasonable. They overlooked however one vital factor. That is, that the British are British. What does that mean? It is difficult, if not impossible to define. One either understands it or one does not. It shows itself in a number of ways; for example, when Christmas shoppers in London were asked if the IRA (Irish Republican Army — the oldest established 'guerilla' organization in the world) bombings in London would deter them from shopping, they replied: 'Of course not'. When asked 'why' they replied 'We're British'.

This latent factor together with the political situation in Britain produced the surprising reaction to the Argentine occupation of the Falklands. Mrs Thatcher was very unpopular in the country, mainly because she had been pursuing a strict financial policy as unemployment rose. Before the Argentine occupation, most British people knew little of the Falklands, and cared less. However, Argentine television reports appeared on British television showing the British flag being hauled down, British soldiers being disarmed and taken prisoner, and British people being forced by the Argentinians to drive on the right hand side of the road instead of the left. These dramatic television pictures, projected the reality of a humiliating defeat and foreign occupation into almost every home in Britain. A raw nerve in the British national spirit was touched which was quickly given voice and policy by Mrs Thatcher. It helped that Argentina was governed by a military junta which the left wing called 'fascist'. The entire nation suddenly found itself united in 'fighting aggression' and preparing to 'secure world peace by making aggressive dictators respect the rights

of others'. Mrs Thatcher declared that the wishes of the Falkland islanders were 'paramount'. She added that British sovereignty was 'not negotiable'.

So, through its task force, Britain projected its power 8,000 miles to the south Atlantic. With American backing, and its highly professional military machine, Britain expelled a vastly numerically superior force from the islands. It was, by any standards, a considerable military achievement. Fortunately it was of short duration and television coverage was either non-existent or minimal. There was no question therefore of the 'Vietnam syndrome' occurring to sap the political will and divide the nation.

The Falklands war changed much, particularly in relation to the future of Hong Kong, because it showed that Britain could and would fight to defend its territory and its people. The Defence Minister, Mr Heseltine, said that there was a clear warning to Moscow to this end. Unfortunately for the people of Hong Kong he did not send an equally clear message to Beijing.

At Christmas 1983, Mrs Thatcher sent a message to the Falkland islanders assuring them that sovereignty was not about to be given away. No such message was sent to Hong Kong.

In Britain, it is already being recognized that the 'Fortress Falklands' policy is expensive, and will lead to nowhere without some kind of political settlement with Argentina. The British military recovered the islands, thereby doing what their political masters asked of them. The military now look to those same political masters either to provide the extra finance and resources required for the extra burden, or to provide a political solution which will enable military resources to again be deployed appropriately, in defence of Britain and its Nato allies.

The politicians however have a problem. The British people, having backed a war in which blood was shed, are not ready to give back that which has been freed by the sacrifice of British lives to the Argentine 'aggressors'. Naturally, Mrs Thatcher can hardly ignore the fact that an attempt to give the islands to the Argentinians now would smack of betrayal of the British dead and wounded. The military also recognizes that such a move would be detrimental to morale, because in any future conflict the question 'Is it worth it?' would be raised in the minds of their men, also the question 'will the politicians sacrifice us for a short-term gain to further their political careers?'

There is little doubt that the 'Falklands factor' was largely responsible for Mrs Thatcher's increased majority in the June 1983 General Election. The Falklands gave the British people confidence in themselves after years of economic, political and military decline. To the British public, the issues involved were quite clear and simple. A foreign 'fascist' dictator had invaded and occupied British territory, and subjected British soldiers and British people to 'foreign domination and occupation'. The fact that Argentina in no way threatened

Britain was irrelevant, because if one dictator could get away with armed unprovoked aggression then so could another.

There is of course merit in this argument, as the world would indeed become a very unsafe place, if every nation tried to redraw the map of 150 years ago, using armed force to do so.

Britain has also told Spain that the British base at Gibraltar cannot be handed over to Spain, because the people of Gibraltar do not wish to become Spanish.

So what about Hong Kong? The arguments that might have been valid before the Falklands, cannot now be sustained, because Britain has demonstrated, as Defence Minister Heseltine has already declared, that it is prepared to fight to protect its territory and its people.

Double standards

Shortly before the 1983 Christmas recess Mrs Thatcher was asked about Hong Kong in the House of Commons. She replied that there was no comparison between the Falklands and Hong Kong because the Falklands were 'freehold', while Hong Kong was 'leasehold'. This ignores the fact that Hong Kong Island and Kowloon are British 'in perpetuity' under the Treaty of January 1841.

This ignores the fact that the original treaty documents are in the possession of the Republic of China, the Government of which is located in Taipei, Taiwan. It also ignores the fact that neither the Chinese Government in Taipei, which Britain does not recognize, or the Communist Government in Beijing, which Britain does recognize, acknowledge the validity of the Hong Kong treaties. This is because they are 'unequal', and no one has the right to concede sovereign Chinese territory to any foreigners under any circumstances. Nevertheless, the unrecognized treaties have been observed because the Chinese are as pragmatic as they are patient.

Britain is facing a looming international crisis over Hong Kong. This fact is being ignored, either through sheer ignorance, or because of the hope that somehow the crisis will not materialize, and that the Chinese Communists will be 'reasonable'.

No one ever mentions the Republic of China or Taiwan. The vast majority of Members of Parliament will, on the clear understanding that they are not quoted, concede that ultimately Hong Kong will be completely in Communist hands.

The argument that 'nothing can be done to defend Hong Kong' is frequently advanced to justify the handing over of some 5½ million people to a backward Communist tyranny. The same argument could be used in relation to West Berlin. If the Russians and their East German satellites decided upon a sudden military occupation, they could completely overrun West Berlin in less than half an hour.

To most British people, Hong Kong is simply an exotic place which produces cheap goods and is the source from which most Chinese wait-

ers come. Incidentally, Hong Kong Chinese were with the British in the Battle for the Falklands, and they suffered fatalities during that operation. Their relatives were treated with the same respect as that shown to those of all who fell in the battle.

If Hong Kong was handed over to the Communists, not only would over 5½ million people be betrayed, but of that number, some 2½ million would be entitled to a British passport. Admittedly this would not be a full passport, but that legalistic nicety does not absolve Britain from responsibility for their welfare.

Imagine the international repercussions caused by a new flood of Boat People as tens and hundreds of thousands of Chinese people, Chinese, but also holders of British passports, try to escape! Would Britain be able to reject responsibility for them? Why should other countries, including the Republic of China, accept and settle them when they are clearly Britain's responsibility? How would the people in overcrowded Britain react to the prospect of a flood of refugees? If past experience is anything to go by, not very well. While moderate immigrations are acceptable, and can be absorbed, the prospect of one or two million Chinese Hong Kong 'Belongers' pouring into Britain would probably trigger off a first rate political crisis. That assumes that the remainder of the Hong Kong population, which is not entitled to any kind of British passport, would obligingly stay put, and live under the very Communist regime either they or their parents sought to avoid by escaping to Hong Kong. Undoubtedly many would stay, but all our past experience with Communist takeovers in Asia or Europe, shows that they are followed by an exodus of refugees.

It is interesting to note that an illegal arrival into West Berlin from the East is classed as a 'refugee', whereas an illegal arrival into Hong Kong is classed as an 'illegal' immigrant, unless he or she is from Vietnam, whereupon the term 'refugee' is used. This is because the term 'refugee' is 'political', and would offend the Chinese Communist authorities if used. If that happened, there just might be a deliberately created human flood to swamp the authorities. One can never tell with the Chinese Communists.

It is clear that Britain has a moral and legal responsibility for the safety and wellbeing of the 5½ million, (no really reliable count has ever been made,) people of Hong Kong. It is equally clear that a country such as Britain which values Human Rights, democracy and the rights of people to determine their own future etc, cannot simply abandon the people of Hong Kong to a Communist tyranny on the grounds that 'there is no alternative!' That is patently not the case, and is as dishonest as it is absurd.

The argument that the Communists must be 'trusted' is also absurd. Britain and its allies are spending millions of pounds in maintaining a nuclear deterrent because the Communists in Moscow cannot be trusted. Is there any evidence that the Communists in Beijing are any more trustworthy? None.

Britain has a clear obligation under the UN Charter of Human Rights to safeguard the rights of people under the British Crown. There can be no honourable compromise when considering the millions of British Chinese in Hong Kong.

If Britain is prepared to surrender to Chinese Communist blackmail, and disregard the wishes of the people of Hong Kong, one must ask the questions 'Why did the Task Force sail to the Falklands?' 'Why did British men fight and die?' 'Was it for some legal technicality?' If it was not in defence of the principles of freedom and democracy etc. as we were then told, 'What was the real reason?'

The argument that Hong Kong cannot be defended is self-defeating, because it presupposes that it will be attacked. The argument that it could not withstand a blockade is also defeatist. In 1940, it was widely believed that Britain could not survive after the Nazi occupation of Western Europe. It was widely believed that the ROC on Taiwan could not survive after Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's mainland defeat. It was widely thought that West Berlin could not survive the Soviet blockade, and that Gibraltar would crumble under blockade. The talk that the Falkland Islands could not be adequately defended, and certainly not retaken is now acknowledged to have persuaded the Argentinians that they could succeed. They were wrong, and many young men on both sides died and many more were injured.

This book aims to destroy the self-fulfilling prophecy that Hong Kong is doomed, and that there is nothing to be done except to make the best terms we can with the Communist authorities in Beijing. The Crown colony is far from doomed. The Chinese Communists do not hold all the cards by any means. True, they benefit from Hong Kong prosperity, and would no doubt like it to continue. If the Communists could make capitalism work successfully, however, they would have done it within their own borders long before now.

The only real hope for Hong Kong is that it remains outside the control of the economically failed Communist regime in Beijing. Like the Communists who threatened West Berlin, Beijing Communists respect firmness and take advantage of weakness.

Chapter 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Most people in Britain have little interest in how Hong Kong came to be British. They have become accustomed to assuming that at some time in the distant past, their ancestors did something to some foreigners which, by present day standards, was not very nice, so that the benefits of ‘civilization’ could be bestowed upon them.

The average Briton regards the Chinese with a mixture of fascination and apprehension. The Chinese are very numerous and ‘inscrutable’, if not down right sinister. After all, don’t they regard all foreigners, (non Chinese) as ‘foreign devils’?

This image is relevant because it helps to condition people to the fact that Hong Kong is no more British than any other part of China. Whatever our imperial colonizing ancestors did — no doubt for a good reason; that period is over. The best we can do is to give back to the Chinese what we took from them.

While the average Briton might be able to identify with the Falkland Islander, who looks and speaks like a Briton, or a Gibraltarian for the same reason, the bulk of the population in Hong Kong look, speak and sound Chinese, which is what they are.

The British and Chinese have something in common in that traditionally they both have a healthy suspicion of ‘foreigners’. Foreigners can be quite nice people, considering that they suffer from the disadvantage of being ‘foreign’, but they should nevertheless be treated with caution, simply because they are ‘foreign’. It is said of the British that they believe that ‘foreigners begin at Calais’ (the nearest French port to Britain).

Ask any Briton today how he would feel if China, Spain or Argentina held a tiny island or peninsular of the British Isles and you will probably be told that the idea had never even occurred to him. This is the legacy of the imperial past. We even held Calais for a considerable time, and when at last the French took it back, some centuries ago, the British Queen of the day was so upset that she proclaimed that the name of Calais would be forever engraved upon her heart.

While most people tend to regard ‘foreigners’ with a degree of caution, even the people from the next village or province, the Chinese, according to British tradition, regard foreigners with a special detestation, and call them ‘devils’.

I am advised by a learned Chinese professor that this is a mistransla-

tion of the Chinese word for 'spirit'. The misunderstanding arose when the Chinese saw the first Europeans with their strange features and even stranger looking eyes. They were convinced that they could see minerals buried beneath the earth and called them 'Ocean spirits' because they arrived from across the Ocean. Later, this became translated by Europeans into the familiar term 'foreign devils'.

Hong Kong entered into the history of Sino-British relations as a result of trading difficulties at the beginning of the last century. The Chinese regarded themselves as the only truly civilized people. Foreigners trading at Guangzhou (Canton) were restricted to specified factory or trading areas. They were only allowed to reside during the trading season, their families having to reside on the coast at Macau. Foreigners were forbidden to learn the Chinese language.

Up to about 1800, trade had been in China's favour. The development of the opium trade reversed the trend from about 1800 onwards. In 1799 the Chinese had made the trade illegal and after 1834, when the British East India Company lost its monopoly, there was an influx of many nationalities seeking big profits from the lucrative opium business.

In 1839, the Chinese acted by surrounding the foreign factories with troops. They effectively stopped even food supplies, refusing to allow anyone to leave until all stocks of opium had been surrendered and the ships' masters had signed an undertaking not to import opium on pain of execution. The British Government representative was also effectively imprisoned by the seige, which was lifted after he had authorized the seizure of over 20,000 chests of opium.

The Portuguese Governor warned the British that he could not be responsible for their safety in Macau, so refuge was taken on board ships in Hong Kong harbour. This concentrated the minds of the British upon their own security. The Foreign Secretary of the day, Lord Palmerston, was well known for his tough gun boat diplomacy. Palmerston alleged, wrongly, that the British had been forced to 'ransom their lives' by surrendering the opium. The lives of the British had never been in danger, but it was a good excuse, and Palmerston 'demanded' either a commercial treaty that would put Sino-British trade relations on a satisfactory footing or the ceding of a small island where the British could live safely under their own flag.

To reinforce the demands, Palmerston dispatched a 'task force'. This arrived in June 1840 when the first so called Opium War (1840-2) took place.

In January 1841, under the Convention of Chuanbi, (Chuenpi) Hong Kong Island was ceded to Britain. A naval landing party hoisted the flag at Possession Point on 26 January 1841 and Hong Kong was proclaimed a British colony. The first plots of land were sold the following June.

Neither side accepted the Chuanbi terms. The ceding of part of China aroused shame and anger among the Chinese, and the Chinese

negotiator was taken to Beijing in chains. Palmerston was equally dissatisfied with Hong Kong, which he contemptuously described as a 'barren island with hardly a house upon it'. He was equally angry with the British negotiator, who was accused of treating Palmerston's instructions as if they were waste paper.

The British commenced hostilities again, and threatened to assault Nanjing, (Nanking) thus forcing the Treaty of Nanjing (29 August 1842). Communications were of course slower in those days, and during this period there was a change of government in London. Palmerston was replaced by Lord Aberdeen who issued revised instructions dropping the demand for an island. The British negotiator, however, ignored the instructions, and successfully secured both a treaty and Hong Kong Island, thus establishing the British Crown colony.

Disputes over the earlier treaties brought about the second Sino-Chinese war of 1856-8. An incident sparked off another war from 1859-60 and the troops involved in this war camped on the Kowloon Peninsula which they found agreeable and useful militarily. The British Consul in Guangzhou (Canton) secured from the Chinese imperial representative a perpetual lease on Kowloon up to Boundary Street, including Stonecutters Island. The Convention of Beijing (1860), which ended the hostilities, provided for outright cession.

By the Convention of Beijing on 9 June 1898, the New Territories — comprising the area north of Kowloon up to the Shum Chun River, plus 235 islands — was leased for 99 years. This move was directed against France and Russia rather than against the Chinese. Chinese warships were allowed to use the wharf at Kowloon City, where Chinese authority was permitted to continue 'except insofar as may be inconsistent with the military requirements for the defence of Hong Kong.' An order in Council of 27 December 1898 revoked this clause, and unilaterally placed Kowloon City under complete British rule. There was some opposition when the British took over the New Territories in March 1899, but order was soon established. The area was declared part of the Crown colony, but was administered separately from the urban areas.

The British area shown on some maps indicates the inequality of the treaties. Even today, if a mainland Chinese steps over the highwater mark on the Chinese shore opposite the British territories, he is in British territory. This has not been enforced for a long time however, and would probably provoke an international incident if any attempt was made to enforce it.

Hong Kong surrounded

To the south of the Hong Kong colony there are a number of tiny islands which are not part of the colony. At the time they were of no military or other importance. Now they are part of Communist China and, according to reliable sources, have a number of people on them. Their significance today is that in the event of a serious dispute with

Beijing, the Communists could deny overflying rights. This could seriously interfere with the seaward approach of aircraft to the colony. The landward approach would of course be forbidden as it is over mainland China.

The new colony got off to a poor start, largely because of a large unexpected influx of Chinese. They were unexpected because it was not thought that the Chinese would wish to live under a foreign flag. The Chinese population rose from 31,000 in 1851 to approx 860,000 in 1931.

The Sun Yat-sen led revolution of 1911 overthrew the last of the Chinese Emperors and established the Republic of China. The new republic repudiated all 'unequal treaties'. There was much unrest, and when the Versailles peace conference after the end of World War I failed to return the German concession of Shandong (Shantung), there was a move to have all foreign treaty concessions removed from China. Foreign goods were subject to a boycott. Unrest spread to Hong Kong, where Britain had the largest foreign concession of any country in China.

The Japanese, however, were soon to make their presence felt in China, and in 1938 occupied Guangzhou (Canton). The result was that Hong Kong received a massive influx of refugees, some 100,000 in 1937, 500,000 in 1938 and 150,000 in 1939. This brought the population at the outbreak of World War II to some 1.6 million.

It is important to note here that as far as China is concerned, World War II began in 1937, when Japan launched its all out attack. Some authorities would put the date earlier. It depends of course on where you were when the fighting began. It began for the United States with Pearl Harbour in December 1941.

With Pearl Harbour and the entry of Japan into the war against the United States, the war came to Hong Kong by way of the Japanese occupation. The Japanese attacked from the mainland at about the same time as Pearl Harbour was attacked, and the British retreated from the New Territories and Kowloon to Hong Kong Island. There, they resisted for a while, surrendering on Christmas day 1941. The Japanese occupation lasted for three years and seven months.

Refugees escaped to the neutrality of Portugese Macau. The Chinese organized resistance to the Japanese invaders and helped escaping British personnel. The Japanese tried to ease the food shortage by organizing mass deportations from Hong Kong. It was a Chinese Hong Kong Belonger who at the conclusion of the War received the surrender of the Japanese forces in Hong Kong.

After the war the population which had declined to about 600,000 rose to 1.8 million. Then as the Communists, assisted by Stalin, began to win the Chinese civil war and as the Chinese Nationalists retreated in the period of 1948-49, Hong Kong received an influx of people unparalleled in its history.

About 750,000 refugees, mainly from Guangdong province, Shan-

ghai and other commercial centres, poured into Hong Kong. The flow continued until by the end of 1950 the population was an estimated 2.3 million. Since then it has risen steadily to the present level of about 5½ million.

After a period of stagnation during the United Nations embargo on trade with Communist China, Hong Kong began to industrialize. The colony could no longer rely upon its port to provide a livelihood for its increasing population. Textiles began the industrial revolution which has continued to develop into a variety of manufactured goods and other services, particularly banking.

During the years of the Cultural Revolution on the Communist dominated mainland, there were disturbances in Hong Kong. It was particularly noticeable that children were involved. The disturbances were contained and no doubt inspired by a mixture of fear, patriotism and pride in China, although not in Communism.

Today, the colony is a prime example of the capitalist, private enterprise, profit motive work ethic. It is pristine capitalism, through which the Chinese Communist regime earns a vast amount of foreign currency.

There is nothing quite like Hong Kong anywhere in the world. It is a unique relic of an imperial past, but it is as successful as it is prosperous, operating as a bridge between Communism and capitalism. It is also an international communications centre and clearing house for banking and other finance.

It exists through a treaty which neither the Free Chinese on Taiwan or the Communists on the mainland recognize. Yet the expiry date of the 'invalid' lease is assuming greater and greater importance as it draws closer.

The Chinese are a tolerant people. Hong Kong is tolerated as an administrative convenience. There are now the 5½ million people to think about. However, Hong Kong is now a Human Rights issue.

Chapter 3

THE RECOGNITION PROBLEM

The British Government was one of the very first to recognize the Communist regime in Beijing. It did so under its 'de facto' policy of recognizing the fact that the regime in Beijing was in physical control of the majority of the country. Such a policy has never indicated approval. It has simply recognized what is, rather than what the British Government would like to be, or thinks it ought to be.

Britain might well have been the first to recognize the Communist regime. India's Mr Nehru, however, thought that India should go first, so he was allowed to recognize the new regime in Beijing as the legitimate government of China.

Clearly the British attitude towards China has been conditioned by the situation of Hong Kong. The Japanese occupation of the colony demonstrated as far as the British were concerned that there was no real military defence of Hong Kong. If political defence moves failed, there was little that Britain could do.

At this point it is interesting to look at Britain's defence policy before the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong, because it is the only time in the colony's history that Hong Kong has not been under direct British rule.

In 1941, General Ismay, the British Commander in Chief in the Far East, had sent several messages to Prime Minister Winston Churchill urging reinforcements for Hong Kong but Churchill disagreed. On 7 January 1941 he sent the following message:

Prime Minister to General Ismay:

'This is all wrong. If Japan goes to war with us, there is not the slightest chance of holding Hong Kong or relieving it. It is most unwise to increase the loss we shall suffer there. Instead of increasing the garrison, it ought to be reduced to a symbolic scale. Any trouble arising there must be dealt with at the Peace Conference after the war. We must avoid frittering away our resources on untenable positions. Japan will think long before declaring war upon the British Empire, and whether there are two or six battalions at Hong Kong will make no difference to her choice. I wish we had fewer troops there, but to move any would be noticable and dangerous.' Churchill commented later that he had allowed himself to be persuaded from that position to the extent that two Canadian battalions were sent as reinforcements.

This view has coloured Britain's present attitude towards Hong Kong. When the Japanese did attack however, Churchill had no hesitation in ordering a fight to the finish. He records in his memoirs: 'I had no illusions about the fate of Hong Kong under the overwhelming impact of Japanese power. But the finer the British resistance the better for all. . . The Japanese employed a force of three divisions against which we could muster six battalions'. He instructed the troops to compel 'the enemy to expend the utmost life and equipment. . . there must be house to house fighting if need be. . . you guard a vital link between the Far East and Europe long famous in world civilization.'

Churchill paid tribute to the tenacity of the resistance, and the desperate fighting which took place 'at point blank range' until, on Christmas day the inevitable surrender took place. Churchill concluded that the armed forces of the Crown 'had indeed won lasting honour which was their due.'

There are those who still contend that had Hong Kong been properly prepared it could have held off the Japanese attack. That incident had to be looked at in the context of the global conflict, and the fact that the British defenders would not have any chance of relief and the Japanese attack enjoyed complete air supremacy.

It is because of the belief that Hong Kong cannot be defended that the present British Government, although very anti-Communist, is prepared to surrender the entire colony to the Communists on 'pragmatic and legalistic' grounds. The argument is that as the majority of Hong Kong is leasehold, it must be given up on the due date if all negotiations fail.

This ignored the fact, however, that Britain is under the Charter of Human Rights of the United Nations and pledged to uphold those Human Rights wherever and whenever it is at all possible. It is not disputed that the Communist regime is totalitarian and denies Human Rights as defined by the UN Charter and understood by Britain. Moreover the fact that Britain gave de facto recognition to the Communist regime in Beijing does not excuse Britain from its UN obligations.

Neither the Communists in Beijing nor the Free Chinese in Taipei have ever controlled Hong Kong. But the original treaty documents are in the possession of the Republic of China in Taipei. The majority of Chinese in Hong Kong are there because they prefer British colonial rule to the Communist dictatorship from which they escaped as refugees. They are now called 'illegal immigrants' for political purposes.

The de facto Communist Government in Beijing is there with Soviet help, and also because of what we might politely call 'mistakes' made by Britain and the United States at Yalta and after. While Britain can claim that it had no option but to recognize the fact that the Communists had gained control over mainland China, it is under no obligation to prejudge the final outcome of the Chinese 'domestic dispute'

between Taipei and Beijing. It should not hand over 5½ million Chinese to the regime that the vast majority thoroughly detest. To do so would be a negation of everything Britain stands for, and a negation of the UN Charter of Human Rights.

Hong Kong has no democratic government. It is what it is, a Crown colony with a Governor appointed by the British Government, although in reality the colony enjoys a very high degree of autonomy in all matters, except of course foreign affairs.

The British Government has refused to allow political parties and elections on the grounds of maintaining public order. The real reason is that it would upset the Chinese Communists if the Kuomintang (Nationalists) won a resounding victory. It is expected that such a victory would be inevitable, and that would be followed by claims that Hong Kong be handed over to the Republic of China in Taipei.

So, while Britain has taken account of the views of the people in the colonies of the Falklands and Gibraltar, it ignores the views of the Chinese in Hong Kong because, according to the current thinking in Westminster, there is no alternative.

In circumstances like this, nothing is inevitable unless the inevitability itself becomes believed in. Then it takes the form of reality and further convinces the believers that they were right, and that their fate, their destiny has no other course.

There is in Britain now much shame and guilt about the fate of Russians and others sent back to the Soviet Union after the end of World War II. The release of confidential records after thirty years has shown a degree of cruelty, or at least callous indifference to the fate of people who, according to diplomatic niceties, must be returned to their own country. There was of course a fear of Communist blackmail over allied prisoners, but it is now recognized that the matter could have and should have been handled differently.

Diplomatic expedient

Britain's diplomatic recognition of the Communist regime simply acknowledged the fact that the Communist rebel government had, in its control the majority of Chinese territory. Such recognition in no way committed the British Government to hand over territory which the Communists did not control.

As neither side in the Chinese 'civil war', now suspended by an informal, 'de facto' armistice, recognizes the validity of the treaties by which Britain occupies and administers Hong Kong, it follows that both sides claim the colony. Both sides recognize 'de facto' that Britain is in possession because, by force of arms, by right of conquest, call it what you will, Britain was able to impose the unequal treaties upon the former weak and corrupt imperial Chinese Government.

As neither Taipei nor Beijing recognize the treaties, it follows that the expiry date of the lease is of no significance to either. The only factor to be considered is how long Britain intends to remain there.

Also, is force going to be used by either Taipei or Beijing to seize the colony on behalf of the Chinese people?

It may seem shocking to consider the idea that the Free Chinese on Taiwan might invade Hong Kong. While such a development is unlikely, it cannot be dismissed as a possibility because the ROC undoubtedly has the military capacity to carry out such an operation.

Most people in Britain are of course in awe and fear of the Communist Chinese giant, the 'one thousand million' who, the British believe, could simply take Hong Kong by walking in. The Chinese Government could alternatively bring the colony to its knees simply by cutting off food and water.

If Beijing threatens such action, or tries to carry it out, there are of course alternatives open to Britain, and serious dangers for Beijing.

Firstly, Britain could immediately withdraw diplomatic recognition from Beijing, and then send an ambassador to Taipei in Taiwan in return for substantial help from the ROC. Moreover, the Chinese Communist army is inefficient and unreliable. There is no evidence that the authorities in Beijing want to encourage too many units or too many people to move about in conditions of uncertainty and turbulence.

After the Falklands war, Beijing cannot be certain as to what Britain would do, unless of course it announces a surrender first and hands Hong Kong to the Communists on a 'silver platter'. This is the phrase Hitler used to describe the British capitulation to his 'legitimate demands' for the Czechoslovakian Sudatenland.

Beijing could not be certain about the security of its coast opposite Taiwan. It should not be forgotten that the two islands of Quemoy (Kinmen) and Matsu, about a mile or so off the mainland coast, still remain in ROC hands. This is despite 30 years of threats and the unsuccessful Communist invasion of Kinmen which was repulsed with 7,000 Communist losses.

There is also the problem of what Russia might do if there is trouble in Hong Kong. Moscow has been trying to goad Beijing into doing something for some time. Why? Could it be because either the Soviet Union or its ally Vietnam wish to take advantage of the situation? Britain fought the Falklands war and men died, so we are told, so that peace, justice the rule of the law and the right of people to determine their future be upheld. President Reagan placed the United States squarely behind Britain in this despite the political and commercial risks for the United States in its relations with Latin America.

Are the Chinese in Hong Kong to be denied the same kind of consideration and protection, which the majority have sought under the British flag?

Should we say to them that because we 'recognized' the de facto situation on the mainland in 1949 we must hand 5½ million people over to a regime against their wishes. Does de facto recognition negate the UN charter of Human Rights, and does Britain have absolutely no

legal or moral responsibility other than to try and 'trust' the Communists?

Clearly the de facto recognition argument is irrelevant in determining the future of the people of Hong Kong. To ignore the wishes of 5½ million people, the majority of whom are there expressly because they do not want to live under a totalitarian Marxist dictatorship, would be a denial of basic Human Rights. The Communist Government in Beijing has done nothing to create the prosperity of Hong Kong. It has nothing in common with the philosophy which has created and maintained Hong Kong, and it has no moral or legal right to any part of Hong Kong.

As for the British Government, it is hiding behind legal sophistry to negotiate with the avowed enemies of capitalism and the private enterprise profit motive which Britain supports, on the basis of de facto recognition, while ignoring the existence of the Republic of China on Taiwan which has as much in common with Hong Kong as the Communists in Beijing have not. There is still the awkward fact that Hong Kong Island and Kowloon are British 'in perpetuity'. If 'sovereignty' is not negotiable over the Falklands in the south Atlantic, then it cannot be negotiable over Hong Kong in the China Sea.

If Britain adopts a double standard, and sells out to Communist China, then we will be entitled to ask 'What did the British really fight and die for over the Falklands?' When Britain recognized the Chinese Communist regime, Madame Chiang Kai-shek called it a betrayal. Is another betrayal to be our final act in relation to China and its people after all these years?

Chapter 4

THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA EXPLAINED

To most Westerners, the ROC or Taiwan (as it is generally known), is simply one of those Asian countries which produces cheap goods that compete with the manufacturers in Western Europe and the United States for the consumer markets of the world. In Britain, Taiwan Hong Kong South Korea and Japan tend to be grouped together as a threat to British industry.

This climate of opinion is gradually changing, as it becomes realized that efficiency and quality and reliability, particularly in delivery, are essentials which must be matched if a share of the market is to be retained.

Even to the educated and better informed, Taiwan is little more than the 'economic miracle' which has amazed everyone. There is little understanding, however, outside academic circles of the spiritual and political motivation which has been responsible for this 'economic miracle'.

The name of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is, of course, well known by the older generation. He was one of the 'Big Four', along with Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill. The name of Dr Sun Yat-sen is almost unknown, despite the fact that one of his 'bodyguards' for a time, was an Englishman, known as 'Two Gun Cohen', who is buried in England.

Dr Sun is to the Republic of China what George Washington is to the Republic of the United States, allowing for the vast cultural differences and political circumstances of the two revolutionaries.

The name of Dr Sun Yat-sen is synonymous with the history of modern China. Born in 1866, he inspired the Revolution of 1911 which overthrew the decadent Manchu dynasty. This is now celebrated as the 'Double Tenth', which is China's National Day, being the tenth day of the tenth month.

The events of 1911 proved to be only the beginning of a long process. Two schools of thought began to dominate the leaders of the young China. One was led by Yuan Shih-kai, and the other by Sun Yat-sen. To put it simply, the former believed in military force while the latter pinned his hope on the awakening of the masses of the people. He devoted himself to the task of developing and understanding the fundamentals of democracy and to the uplifting of economic standards. To do this, he yielded the presidency to Yuan Shih-kai after

he had held it for three months. Unfortunately, Yuan Shih-kai behaved more like a warlord in pursuit of absolute power. He disregarded the new Parliament, and set out to make himself Emperor. This development delayed the Revolution until the autumn of 1926, when Chiang Kai-shek finally stepped into the shoes of the late Dr Sun, and began his campaign to unite China. Unfortunately, Yuan had left a militaristic legacy of oppression, which is having its effect to the present day.

The Three Principles

Dr Sun's legacy was his political philosophy based upon liberal democratic principles which are summed up as 'The Three Principles of the People'. In essence these are; Nationalism, Democracy and Livelihood. Together, he said, they assure government of the people, by the people, and for the people of China. This phrase is, of course, familiar to any student of the history of the United States.

Nationalism was of importance, because China had been a 'sub-colony' of various Western powers which marked out spheres of influence.

Democracy was prescribed because Dr Sun held the people to be sovereign, but with recognition of the distinction between sovereignty and ability. To meet the special conditions of China, Dr Sun created a five power system of government. Added to the Western branches of executive, legislative and judicial; are equal organs of control, (consent, impeachment, censure and audit), and examination (civil service).

By Livelihood, the Founding Father of the Republic of China meant food, clothing, housing, travel and other aspects of economic and social well-being. To assure more equitable distribution of wealth, he advocated equalization of land ownership (which can be now seen clearly on Taiwan), regulation of private capital and development of state capital.

Dr Sun firmly rejected the Marxist concept, which he examined in detail. He took what he considered to be the best from Western radicalism, which he adapted to suit the particularly unique needs of China. He explained his ideals and the cultural misunderstandings which can occur between East and West in a lecture delivered on 16 March 1924. Some extracts of this lecture will help to give the reader a better understanding of the political philosophy motivating the ROC on Taiwan, and an understanding of all educated non-Communist Chinese; which means the vast majority. Dr Sun: 'Foreign scholars always associate "democracy" with "liberty" and many foreign books and essays discuss the two side by side. The people of Europe and America have warred and struggled for little else beside liberty for these past two or three hundred years and, as a result, democracy is beginning to flourish. The watchword of the French Revolution was "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity", just as the watchword of our Revolu-

tion is “Min-ts’u, Min-ch’uan, Min-sheng” (People’s Nationalism, People’s Sovereignty, People’s Livelihood). We may say that liberty, equality, and fraternity are based upon the people’s sovereignty or that the People’s sovereignty develops out of liberty, equality, and fraternity. While we are discussing democracy we must consider the meaning of the French watchword.

‘As revolutionary ideas have spread through the East, the word “liberty” has come too . . . The movement for liberty has played a large part in the history of Europe for the past two or three hundred years, and most European wars have been fought for liberty. So Western scholars look upon liberty as a most significant thing . . . But since the word has been brought to China, only a few of the intelligentsia have had time to study and understand it. If we should talk of the common people of China in the villages or streets of “liberty”, they would have no idea of what we meant. So we may say that the Chinese have not got anything yet out of the word; even the new youth and the returned students, those who have paid some attention to Western political affairs and those who have constantly heard “liberty” talked about or have seen the word in books, have a very hazy conception of what it signifies. No wonder that foreigners criticize the Chinese, saying that their civilization is inferior and their thinking immature, that they even have no idea of liberty and no word with which to express the idea, yet at the same time criticizing the Chinese for being disunited as a sheet of loose sand.’

Dr Sun then described how the Chinese and European civilizations had developed very differently, and that the Chinese people had not been subjected to direct oppression. ‘Their sufferings have come indirectly.’ ‘The Chinese people felt very little resentment against their Emperors whereas the autocracy of Europe was quite different from that of China,’ declared Dr Sun.

After referring to the teachings of the English scholar John Stuart Mill, ‘only individual liberty which did not interfere with the liberty of others can be considered true liberty’. Dr Sun touched upon the American Revolution and its watchword of ‘Independence’. He comments as follows: ‘That foreigners should not be familiar with Chinese history; should not know that since ancient times Chinese have enjoyed a large measure of liberty, is not strange. But that our own students should have forgotten the Liberty Song of the ancient Chinese —

“When the sun rises, I toil;
When the sun sets, I rest;
I dig wells for water;
I till the fields for food;
What has the Emperor’s power to do with me?”

is surprisingly strange. We can see from this Liberty Song that China, while she has not had liberty in name, has had liberty in fact from days of old, and so much of it that she need not seek for more.’

Dr Sun then deals with the argument that there can be no such thing as complete liberty for the individual, otherwise the result will be anarchy with no liberty for anyone. Without the revolutionary principles, the Chinese people will never succeed.

On the development of government, and the balances and conflicts between individual liberty and collective authority, Dr Sun pointed to the interesting English experience in a lecture delivered on 9 March 1924. Referring to Cromwell's execution of King Charles I, after a public trial, Dr Sun observed 'Europe thought that the English people would defend the rights of the people, and give a great impetus to democracy, but, to the surprise of all, the English preferred autocracy to democracy; although Charles was dead they continued to long for a King . . . With the restoration of the monarchy Charles II was welcomed back as King. This happened just at the time when the Manchus were entering the Great Wall, before the downfall of the Ming dynasty . . . England had this one period of democratic government, but it soon collapsed and autocracy again held sway.'

It can be seen, through very brief extracts, that Dr Sun Yat-sen had a clear understanding of Western radical thought and philosophy, as well as the needs of his native China. This is not surprising, considering that from the age of 13 he spent five years in Honolulu, Hawaii where he absorbed freely the influences of the American way of life. When he returned to Hong Kong and entered Queen's college, he was already dissatisfied with the political life of his native country China. In Hong Kong, he could, of course, see the positive and negative sides of British colonial rule. As a Chinese patriot, he could feel the resentment of foreign domination of China. This is something the British find difficult to really understand to this day.

The extracts quoted are from the book 'San Min Chu I — The Three Principles of the People' by Sun Yat-sen, produced by the China Publishing Company. In the biographical sketch of Dr Sun, written in 1927 by L.T. Chen, we learn that: 'Dr Sun died a comparatively poor man. For forty years he toiled in order to achieve freedom and equality for China. He is the father of the new China, taking his place among the foremost leaders in history.'

Chiang Kai-shek

Dr Sun's successor was Chiang Kai-shek, and the Kuomintang (KMT) party is the revolutionary party which grew out of the revolutionary movement in China. The present KMT ruling the Republic of China on Taiwan therefore, is the direct descendant of the revolutionary radical movement which brought about the downfall of the last Chinese imperial dynasty.

The present Communist regime in Beijing is a direct result of Stalin's efforts to subvert and corrupt the Chinese Revolution. It stands for practically everything that Dr Sun rejected.

The nearest comparison in European terms, is that the KMT is a

democratic socialist party which, like so many of the European democratic socialist parties, also suffered from Communist infiltration and subversion in its early days. It has of course rid itself of those Communist elements. Members of the British Labour and Trade Union Movement currently grappling with Marxist 'entryism' should read Chiang Kai-shek's book 'Soviet Russia in China', to learn that unless they rid themselves of the Communists, their Movement will be corrupted and taken over.

Generalissimo Chiang and his successors have had considerable experience of the Communists and their tactics. This is why they are so uncompromising today. The modern 'Taiwan', which is now the industrial 'miracle', is based uncompromisingly upon Dr Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People. The success of Taiwan is due in no small measure to that philosophy.

Unfortunately, the KMT have become known as the Chinese Nationalists. In Western terminology, this is associated with right wing policies of a very conservative nature, and has obscured the very real radicalism of the KMT.

To describe Taiwan today, I can do no better than to quote from the book of that name by Dr Han Lih-wu, a former ambassador and Education Minister who first did me the honour of inviting me to Taiwan as his guest some years ago. He writes:

'Taiwan, formerly known to Westerners as Formosa, is a lush, semitropical island in the Western Pacific approximately one hundred miles east of the China coast. The Portuguese named it "Ilha Formosa" (Beautiful Island) in the late 16th Century.

Taiwan is shaped like a tobacco leaf, about 240 miles in length and about 90 miles at its greatest width. Its area, including Penghu Island (Pescadores) and other islets, is 35,981 Square kilometres, a little larger than Holland or about the size of Massachusetts and Connecticut combined. Its climate is semitropical with plenty of rainfall and sunshine. The population is 18 million, less than 300,000 of whom are aborigines. The rest are all of Chinese stock, their ancestors having come from Fukien, consequently the major local dialect is that of Amoy in southern Fulkien.

Mainland China has maintained contact with Taiwan since the earliest times.'

Dr Han goes on to outline the history of Taiwan up to the end of World War II, which ended 50 years of Japanese occupation, and returned the island to the government of China. He then writes: 'While postwar reconstruction was going on in Taiwan, the Chinese Communists resumed their attacks on the government on the mainland. Communist propaganda was devious and few at the time really understood the Communist methods and purposes. Nationalist (KMT) weaknesses were fully exploited and exaggerated before the public while the not inconsiderable achievements made, especially in the years preceding the Japanese aggression in 1937, were ignored or

denied. Battered by such propaganda and still shaken by the recent Japanese aggression, the Chinese Government and the ruling party, the KMT began to lose control of the country. Defeatism spread and confidence in the Nationalist's ability to hold their ground against the Communists waned rapidly. Psychological demoralization preceded military defeats, and the Communists utilized fully the general desire for peace. A last offensive by the Communists helped by the infiltration of the Nationalist army intelligence, was all that was necessary to dissipate the Nationalist fighting spirit. Resistance was broken and the mainland fell to the Communists, precipitated by military setbacks and default.'

Roc on Taiwan

In 1949, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek withdrew to Taiwan. The rebuilding of the Republic of China began materially from scratch, while at the same time maintaining a preparedness for any Communist attack. At that time, many in the West gave the Free Chinese little chance of success, just as a decade before, some had written off Britain as it stood alone after the defeat of Dunkirk. The Cassandras were wrong, however, and Taiwan, or the Republic of China, as it is correctly called, has enjoyed political stability and growing economic prosperity, the like of which was unimagined even two decades ago. Now the 18 million Chinese on Taiwan, following the philosophy of Dr Sun Yat-sen, produce more wealth and exports than all the 1,000 million Chinese on the mainland. The ROC has not had to endure the debilitating years of Mao's cultural revolution, or the economic failure of the Chinese Communists, who insist upon following the alien obsolete doctrine of Marx which Dr Sun so wisely rejected when he founded the Republic.

Today, the Republic of China on Taiwan is, in formal diplomatic terms, practically totally isolated, yet it enjoys more prosperity, more trade and more political contacts and influence than ever before. This is largely through the energy and enterprise of its people and their leaders. They have shown the world just what the Chinese people can achieve if they are given an enlightened leadership, and are not tied down by unworkable discredited Marxist theories.

The country has a modern railway network, a motorway network or 'expressway' (as our American friends would say). It has two fully equipped major international airports, large container ports, and shipbuilding and dry docking facilities.

Its hotels and conference centres are among the finest anywhere in the world. The Grand Hotel Taipei, is rated among one of the world 'top ten', and it has the distinction of being the tallest structure in the world in traditional Chinese style.

The capital city of Taipei is about to build an underground railway to relieve the congestion which seems the common lot of all modern successful cities from New York to Tokyo, not forgetting London.

The people are well-clothed and fed. The land reforms have produced a highly efficient agricultural system, which literally utilizes every square centimetre of land from one end of the island to the other. Productivity is constantly rising.

The factories are using the most modern technology. The export processing zones continue to provide favourable conditions for foreign investment, which can take advantage of a highly intelligent and industrious workforce.

The 235 mile North South 'Expressway' reduces driving time between Taipei in the North to Kaohsiung from 10 to 4½ hours. The entire investment of over US 1 billion will pay for itself within 20 years.

Recently, the third phase of the Taichung harbour construction was completed, giving the port an annual capacity of 12 million tons. This will relieve the pressure on the overcrowded ports of Keelung in the north, and Kaohsiung in the south.

Then there is nuclear power which is being developed, together with micro chip industries. In short, the per capita income is increasing all the time, and the island looks as it is — an economic miracle. The Chinese in Hong Kong have much in common with their countrymen in Taiwan, and nothing in common with the Chinese Communists — except that they are Chinese. This leads us right up to the next thing about the Republic of China on Taiwan which baffles so many Westerners; the question of the 'two Chinas'.

Dr Sun's philosophy embraced nationalism (which is not quite the same as is understood in Europe) and explains why the KMT are called the Nationalists. In a lecture delivered on 2 March 1924, he gives the Westerner an insight when he said: 'How can we restore the standing of our nation? . . . We must first revive our national spirit . . . We must utilize China's ancient social groups, such as the family and the clan, and consolidate them to form a great national body.' Dr Sun then deals at some length with the need to unite all Chinese 'into a great national body, we must first recover our morality — then and only then, can we plan how to attain again the national position we once held . . . If we want to learn from the West we must catch up with the advance line and not chase from behind.'

Dr Sun's philosophy works

In other words the ROC on Taiwan have implemented Dr Sun's philosophy and made it work, both spiritually and materially. The significance of this is that they have proved that the original concept of the revolution for China as formulated by Dr Sun, is spiritually and materially correct, while the foreign imposition of Marxism is none the less unacceptable for being given a brand name of 'Mao Thought', and is seen to be a miserable failure.

The ROC are custodians of the heritage and future of China, and cannot therefore accept the fragmentation of China simply to facilitate

a diplomatic convenience. That would be a betrayal of China itself, and quite unacceptable. This attitude in no way criticizes the Koreans or Germans, who have accepted, for the time being, two separate states within one nation.

An editorial in the international air mail edition of the English language China Post, published in Taipei on Wednesday 30 November 1983, gives an insight into this attitude. It also shows that there is a high degree of freedom of debate and political controversy within Taiwan which is not always appreciated in the West, where it tends to be regarded as a single party police state. (There is a tendency in Washington and Westminster to regard any system which is different from the accepted Anglo-Saxon method with suspicion). The editorial, headed 'Riding for a Fall' comments: 'A favourite topic of candidates currently seeking seats in the Legislative Yuan (Parliament or Congress) is the future of Taiwan. It has been the subject of much debate and argument.

'A few candidates have advocated "self-determination" and "respecting the will of the 18 million residents of Taiwan."

'By definition, "self determination" means the right of a people to decide upon its own political status without outside influence. It usually applies to a colony which has been ruled by an imperialist power and where people are dissatisfied with their current system of government.

'Taiwan has been part of China for many centuries. Although it was ruled by the Japanese for 50 years, it was returned to China after Japan was defeated in the Second World War. The Government that now governs Taiwan is the same Government that took it back from Japan in 1945, namely the Government of the Republic of China.

'Furthermore, elections of public office holders have been regularly held in order to realize government by the people.

'Under these circumstances, the notion of self-determination is meaningless as far as Taiwan is concerned.

'As for the call respecting the will of the 18 million residents of Taiwan, one may well wonder what it really means. It is as bizarre as it is nonsensical, as would be a call for respecting the will of the 226 million residents of the United States.

'Perhaps what the people who advocate "self-determination" are really aiming at is an independent Taiwan nation.

'As we have observed before, the independence of Taiwan as a separate state is a mere delusion, cherished by a handful of power hungry people, whose only wish is to overthrow the government of the ROC.

'Many objections can be made to making Taiwan an independent state. For one thing, as Minister of the Interior, Lin Yang-kang stated recently:

"If Taiwan should become independent, it would immediately lose the support of 24 million Chinese living overseas."

‘Also, the Chinese Communist regime would have a good excuse to wage war in the Taiwan Strait.

‘But most of all, one should keep in mind the historic meaning of Taiwan. All the prominent figures who governed Taiwan, such as Liu Ming-chuan and Koxinga, to name but the most famous two, regarded themselves as the custodians of Chinese culture. And all the men of wisdom and ability that succeeded them maintained the same attitude. In short, Taiwan has been fashioned to play a crucial role in the making of a modernized China.

‘The Republic of China on Taiwan is now vigorously endeavouring to map out the blueprint for the reconstruction of China. The plan calls for a China which is democratic and prosperous, and which adopts advanced science and technology but, at the same time preserves the essence of traditional Chinese culture.

‘The ROC, indeed has come to a critical moment in its history. It is burdened with the historic task of reunifying China under the principles of nationalism, democracy, and social welfare. That task will not only determine the future of the entire Chinese nation, but will have a far-reaching influence on the civilization of mankind.

‘It is a tremendous task, but we are confident it will be accomplished. Those who try deliberately to oppose currents of history and Chinese civilization by seeking to obstruct this task are riding for a fall.’

That editorial sums up, as far as is possible in so short a space, the ROC and its role. It clearly illustrates that there is freedom for political controversy, and that there are elections at which views contrary to the Government view are expressed. It also clearly demonstrates that Taiwan is something more than an ‘economic miracle’, and that anyone who does not understand that cannot hope to understand anything remotely associated with China and its people, be they in Beijing, Taipei or Hong Kong.

Chapter 5

THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA (ROC) AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (PRC) COMPARED

Let us now compare the Republic of China and Communist China. The official name of Communist China is The People's Republic of China (PRC), and as we all know, anything which has the word 'people' or 'democratic' is immediately suspect, particularly since those words have been so seriously corrupted and devalued by the Communist 'newspeak'. In Europe, we are accustomed to the Communist prison of East Germany calling itself the German Democratic Republic, and its police force is known as the People's police.

In the three decades since the Chinese civil war reached a stalemate, with the anti-Communist Chinese Nationalists on Taiwan and with the Communists in possession of the mainland, there have been some revealing developments. The most revealing has been that the Chinese people, given the right motivation and political leadership, can produce a stable and prosperous society. If they are denied those pre-conditions, then they cannot achieve either stability or prosperity.

The ROC on Taiwan is, in reality, more prosperous and influential internationally, despite its diplomatic isolation and the fact that it comprises only about 2% of the Chinese population. That 2%, believe it or not, exports more manufactured goods to the rest of the world than the entire 98% living under Communist rule on the mainland.

There is, of course, no real comparison, because whereas the ROC on Taiwan has created a successful Chinese Revolution which approximates in Western terms to a radical social democracy, the PRC on the mainland has created a dictatorship based upon the teaching of Marx and Lenin. The regime in Beijing bears no more relationship to that in Taipei than does the regime in Moscow to that in Washington, or the regime in East Berlin to that in West Berlin.

It should not be forgotten that Deng Xiaoping has declared that the Chinese regime is uncompromisingly Marxist, and that China is part of the world socialist (Communist) community. While there are historical and ideological differences between Moscow and Beijing, they have more in common particularly when it comes to foreign policy, than they have in contention.

However, that will not prevent Beijing from playing upon US and European fears of Soviet expansionism by dwelling upon China's own genuine historical fears of Soviet power. The developments in Afghanistan and the growing Soviet influence in Vietnam have added to traditional fears.

The Chinese, as already explained, believe in the unity of China. It is all too often overlooked that when the Chinese Communists 'repossessed Tibet as being 'part of China', the ROC supported the basis for this claim. It is also interesting to note that Beijing promised Tibet internal autonomy to maintain its own unique system. This promise has been cynically broken at great cost to life and Human Rights. Something which should be remembered by those who would 'trust' the Chinese Communists to leave Hong Kong alone.

Deng Xiaoping told the Japanese recently that he 'feels intensely about Taiwan'. For the Chinese Communists, Taiwan on its own is the key to their relations with the United States. There is even a rumour that one Chinese analyst in Beijing has let it be known that there could be an informal alliance between the PRC and the US if it were not for continued American support for Taiwan, as formalized through the Taiwan Relations Act.

The PRC is experiencing considerable internal troubles following in the wake of the Gang of Four trials and the economic failures of the Communist party programmes. There are millions of educated young Chinese who have no suitable employment. The Chinese traditionally value scholarship. The young Chinese today do not appreciate being given an education which inevitably raises their expectations and broadens their horizons, to be told that there is considerable virtue in returning to the drudgery of a peasant existence, because that is what the Great Communist Revolution is all about.

There are increasing numbers of young people who are asking awkward questions. Why, after three decades of Communist party rule are they so far behind the rest of the world, particularly Hong Kong and Taiwan? Unlike the ROC, the PRC lacks the political mechanism to give proper expression to those who wish to dissent from and question the Government. That is why the concept of allowing a 'thousand flowers to bloom' had to be hastily abandoned, and why the 'Democracy Wall' had to be closed down, and why the Communist party is right now undergoing a thorough purge. Many hundreds and thousands of people across China are being executed for an assortment of alleged 'crimes'.

In an attempt to re-glue the fractured national spirit, the Beijing leadership is using such issues as Taiwan, Hong Kong and the remembered Soviet insults of the 1950's. These are being given more prominence and priority.

Beijing knows that both Westminster and Washington are worried about the Soviet threat to Europe, and the perceived Soviet threat throughout the world. They believe that they can use Taiwan and

Hong Kong to their own advantage in a complicated political chess game called peaceful reunification.

Not genuine

If this was a genuine move, as the West should understand it, the Beijing leadership would admit that Marxism-Leninism has failed. Pointing to the success of the ROC on Taiwan, Beijing would embrace the true Chinese Revolution of Dr Sun Yat-sen, and accept that the Government in Taipei is the true Government of China. If they did this, there would be no problem for Hong Kong, political or economic, because Dr Sun had made it quite clear that Marxism could not and would not succeed in China. This is why he evolved his own Chinese radicalism in the form of The Three Principles of the People.

The Chinese Communists of course will not and cannot do anything of the sort. To imagine that they will do so voluntarily is as foolish as it was to believe 40 years ago, that because the Soviet Union, joined in founding the United Nations and signed the UN Convention of Human Rights, it would therefore become, in some mysterious way, a liberal democratic state. This illusion about the true nature of Communist regimes was seen in the West again when the Helsinki agreement was signed with Mr Brezhnev. It achieved nothing of course, except to consolidate the Soviet grip on Eastern Europe with Western consent. So it is with Moscow. So it is with Beijing. A Communist is a Communist is a Communist.

There is much talk of 'uniting' Communist China with Taiwan (and of course repossessing Hong Kong). Look at the following quote from Yang Ching-jen, Minister of the United Front of the Chinese Communist Party. He wrote in a 1983 issue of the Red Flag Journal:

'To ascertain the nature of United Front, first of all we must judge from its strategic goal and fundamental assignment as well as its political basis.

'The basic goals and tasks of the United Front in the new era are to build our nation into a modernized, highly civilized, highly democratic socialist (Communist) country. Its fundamental political basis rests with the four cardinal principles and they are naturally socialistic (Communist).

'Judging from the composition of United Front, the great majority of components are socialist labourers and patriots who support socialism (Communism). That is to say, the main body of United Front is based on support for socialism' (Communism).

'But why is it called patriotic United Front? There were considerations to make it instrumental to the enlargement of unity. The higher we hold the patriotic banner, the more people we will be able to unite with, including those who approve unification of the motherland but disapprove the socialist (Communist) system.

'This can be advantageous to unification of the motherland, socialist modernization and development of an anti-hegemonic United Front'.

It is clear that the appeal for unity with Taiwan is based upon the same Marxist-Leninist tactics employed by the Soviet Union over 'peaceful co-existence' and cooperating in Europe and other spheres, it is clearly simply a means to an end, a stepping-stone on the road to Communism. After all, the fundamental basis of Marxism is that Communism historically is inevitable, and that the Communist party has a duty to play the leading role. On the road to the ultimate goal of world revolution however, the Communists may have to take allies, but they will never compromise their basic Marxist revolutionary principles.

In her opening address at the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference of Communist China, as reported in the People's Daily in Beijing 5 June 1983, Teng Ying chao said: 'We respect history, we respect reality. We have taken in full consideration the aspirations of the various peoples of Taiwan and the situation the Taiwan authorities are facing. Not only have we considered about the present, we have considered the future. After the motherland is reunified, the Communist Party and the Kuomintang will embark upon a lasting cooperation to coexist for a long time to supervise each other. With reunification of the motherland Taiwan will exist as a special administrative district and apply a system different from that of the mainland to supplement and support one another. Only a genuine reunification on a realistic basis can bring prosperity to the nation and its people. To endorse reunification to the motherland is patriotic. On the basis of reunification, all problems can be tackled through negotiation for a reasonable solution.'

Communist ploy

The suggestion of a kind of coalition between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang is a classic Communist ploy which will be well recognized in Europe, where it was used to bring about the total supremacy of the Communist party. The Communists usually made their final strike just before critical elections at which they would have clearly lost in a free vote.

It is interesting to note that at the conclusion of the congresses, which had recognized a puppet 'front' organization, the All China Taiwan Compatriots Amity Association; Deng Xiaoping received in audience deputies from Hong Kong. In a published statement he said that the three major tasks of anti-hegemony, modernization and unification of the motherland must not only be run well into the 80's. They may also remain unfinished tasks in the 90's. It is also clear that the future of Hong Kong is, for Beijing at any rate, bound up with the policy of taking over Taiwan. It is also clear from the above, that ultimately that means the complete dictatorship of the Communist party which, as in every Communist country, must have ultimate control over every organization and every person. This offer of 'cooperation' between the Communists and the Kuomintang is the

third distinct attempt. The previous two were fortunately frustrated by the Kuomintang in the early days, as the Communists infiltrated and tried to take over the party, much the same as they have been struggling to take over the British Labour party through 'entryism'. The previous 'peace talk' in April 1949 is described by Dr Han Lih-wu, who was in the government which sent a delegation to Beijing before the Communist drive on Nanking (the Nationalist capital). Dr Han writes: 'They were not really talks or negotiations, for the government delegation was given a draft 'peace agreement' listing eight articles with twenty four clauses, which demanded acceptance and signing within five days. Moreover, whether accepted or not, the Communist drive would continue. Therefore what was called "peace negotiations" was a call to surrender, pure and simple.'

The people of Hong Kong and any members of the British Government who really believe that the Beijing Communists can be trusted to keep any agreement, should talk to the exiled Tibetan spiritual leader and find out just how Beijing treated Tibet and implemented the Tibetan formula. The Dalai-lama is still being offered a 'fresh start', on Communist terms of course.

On 18 July 1980, in an interview with the well-known Hong Kong publisher Chai Liang-yun of Ming Pao, the Chinese Communist leader Deng Xiaoping offered peace talks with the ROC and said, 'Let there be competition between us.' This 'offer' completely ignored the results of the past three decades, which has resulted in glaring contrasts between the Communist mainland and the ROC on Taiwan.

The problem of illegal immigrants pouring into Hong Kong, either the Chinese overland or the Vietnamese by boat, has been caused by people escaping from Communist regimes, not from places like Taiwan.

The ROC's real competition is with places like Singapore and Hong Kong where free Chinese are concentrated, and competition is friendly. If the Communists could really compete and could really make a success of their economies, they would not need to keep their people captive, either in Beijing or East Berlin.

Chapter 6

INTERNATIONAL CONSEQUENCES

Those who delude themselves, and that seems to include a great many members of the British Parliament and Government, that the Chinese Communists can somehow successfully run capitalist Hong Kong, should take note of the following which are excerpts from a 1 November 1983 Chinese Communist publication *Nan Fang Jih Pao* (Nanfang Ribao, Southern Daily News) report on ‘spiritual polution’ in the Chinese Communist military. ‘At a recent enlarged meeting of the standing committee of the party Committee for military units in Canton (Guangzhou), Yu T’ai-chung (You Taizhong), the commanding officer, said, “The units in Canton are situated in a coastal defence position, facing the realities of Hong Kong (Xianggang) and Maco (Aomen); one fact after another shows that the time has come to resist and eliminate spiritual polution.”

“Our troops do not live in a vacuum”, Yu said “Since the implementation of special policies and flexible measures in Kwangtung (Guangdong), the decadent and moribund ideology and life style of the bourgeoisie have slipped in and infected our military units like a virus. Some people have become ideologically inclined towards capitalism, while some seek to be “Westernized” in the way they live . . . In the units in Canton especially, eliminating spiritual polution is a matter of great importance and an arduous long-term task.”

‘Wang Meng, deputy Party secretary and commissar of military units in Canton, also said that as a result of being situated at the ‘window where the south wind blows, some soldiers, surrounded by a wide variety of bourgeois life-styles and ways of thinking, lose their ‘immunity’ and take the road to crime.’

In case there is any doubt as to the role of the Chinese Communist military the following quote from the *Liberation Army Daily* of 30 October 1983 should remove that doubt:

‘The four fundamental principles are the foundation of our party, our government and our armed forces, as well as the prime prerequisite for realization of the four modernizations . . . Only if we constantly work to eliminate spiritual polution can we adhere to the four fundamental principles . . . and ensure that the building of a modernized revolutionary regular army proceeds smoothly . . . The demand on our armed forces to resist and eliminate spiritual polution

is an especially rigorous one. Our armed forces are the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat; their purpose is to fight, and their moral must always be high, they must always maintain a high degree of organizational discipline, and their spirit of self-sacrifice must always be strong. We must uphold party leadership of the military and carry forward the revolutionary traditions of our armed forces . . . We must further strengthen education in the four fundamental principles . . . strengthen education in Communism and patriotism; resolutely resist the corrosive influence of the decadent ideas of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes; and resist and eliminate spiritual pollution.'

This editorial from the People's Liberation Army makes it quite clear that the Communist party and its instrument the army, is preparing for the eventual absorption of Hong Kong, and that meanwhile the dangerous 'pollution' must be isolated.

The very phrases 'Dictatorship of the proletariat' are straight from the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels. It is clear that there is to be no compromise with the 'decadent ideas' of the Western capitalists, and that any negotiations with the capitalist, be they British or Chinese, are but a step towards the ultimate goal of complete domination by the Communist party in every sense of the word.

Remember that these words are being preached to every Communist soldier in the province who was likely to come into any contact with anyone who might have had anything to do with Hong Kong.

These warnings were not issued during the extreme days of the cultural revolution. They were issued in October and November of 1983, while arrangements were being made to receive President Reagan in Beijing, and a further round of negotiations were being arranged between the Chinese Communists and the British Government about the future of Hong Kong. This, at a time when a British Conservative M.P. was writing that there was no alternative but to trust the Communists in Beijing.

The complete and utter betrayal of 5½ million people into Communist slavery, many of whom will undoubtedly die in the subsequent purges is being contemplated. Many will also die in trying to escape across the sea. Britain will try and wash its hands of the whole shocking business. It is abundantly clear that the Chinese Communists cannot and will not allow Hong Kong to continue as a separate semi-autonomous 'special zone', longer than is absolutely necessary for the further implementation of Communist party policy.

Already, the cross-border traffic and the influence of radio and television are clearly causing problems for the Communist authorities. Even if they wanted to, they could not risk the 'pollution' spreading to the rest of the country.

This point is very important, because many people who ought to know better, including some Hong Kong Chinese, are already deceiving themselves that Hong Kong will survive and prosper because

‘it is too valuable to Beijing’ in terms of much needed foreign earnings. This makes the mistake of looking at problems from the logical pragmatic capitalist point of view, instead of from the Communist ideological point of view.

Communism and capitalism incompatible

If the Communists were capable of reconciling capitalism with Communism and making capitalism work for Communism, they would have done it long before now. It is precisely because Communism and capitalism are irreconcilable that the economies of Communist regimes the world over, including that of China, are in such a mess.

It is true that the Chinese Communists are having to give the people more incentives, by way of allowing them some small profit out of their labours after they have fulfilled the state fixed quota. This concession has been happening in Communist East Europe, particularly Hungary, and other places. The grip of the Communist party, however, the ‘dictatorship of the proletariat’ of which the Chinese Communists are still speaking, remains very much intact if not strengthened.

The ‘spiritual polution’ problem was discussed by the Central Secretariat when the minister of the Propaganda Department of the Communist regime, a Mr Teng Li-chun, outlined the different measures being formulated to combat it, and protect the ideological purity of the Communist system.

The remedies range from ‘re-education’ to execution with ‘banishment’ somewhere in between. Banishment apparently means the blacklisting of those who have been detected as being discontented with the ‘four cardinal principles’ or who violate ‘Communist morality’. This includes of course criticizing the Government, and otherwise suggesting that the dictatorship of the Communist party is anything other than an excellent thing for all concerned.

People from abroad, mainly overseas Chinese and foreigners, will have to be watched most carefully, and the principle measures will be warnings, detentions and deportations. There will be a system of warnings to visitors who engage in ‘unfriendly’ activities, such as talking with the ordinary people without an official guide being present, and ‘exalting’ foreign material things and ‘civilization’, (Western democracy, capitalism etc.)

It is clear therefore, that while the Chinese Communists are prepared to ‘liberalize’ their attitude towards non-Communists, they regard this as a necessary evil which must be closely monitored and guarded against for any ‘spiritual polution’ which may occur. The true nature of the regime is to be protected at all costs.

One of the main reasons why the Chinese Communists want possession of Hong Kong and will try, in the comparatively short term, to make it work, is that they believe that it will help to isolate the ROC

on Taiwan. This would help to bring about the unification of China, by bringing Taiwan under Communist control eventually.

Then the 'spiritual pollution' could be eliminated from both Hong Kong and Taiwan completely, and the correctness of the Communist morality and ideology would be vindicated.

The international consequences of such development will be considerable and far reaching. In the first place, it will have been demonstrated that the anti-Communists lack the will, determination and skill to resist for long the 'inevitable revolution' which every Communist firmly believes it is his duty to spread throughout the world. This demonstration of the success and inevitability of the onward march of Communism will produce its own rewards in that anti-Communists will suffer a credibility problem. Non-Communists will tend to accept that as Communism seems inevitable, they had better make the best of things and conduct themselves accordingly.

It will also have been demonstrated that the Western nations, in the form of Great Britain and the United States, lack the political will, if not the means to resist Communist expansion. As allies, they are untrustworthy and unreliable.

As far as Britain is concerned, there will be suspicion throughout Asia and Africa that the Hong Kong Chinese were handed over to the Communists because, unlike the Falkland Islanders and Gibraltarians, they were of Asian and not European stock.

If the betrayal of Hong Kong takes place, and Britain's American ally is seen to be either sympathetic or indifferent to Britain's policy, then there will be a question as to America's commitment to the Taiwan Relations Act, and the firmness of its commitment to South Korea.

Apart from anything else, Taiwan is a vital link in the defences of the Western Pacific, and the successful Communization of Hong Kong will increase the pressures upon Taiwan.

Rising tensions

We all know that the Falklands war started because the Argentine military were convinced that Britain would or could not fight. If the Communists get the same idea about the Western powers, there could well be another war. Perhaps an attack by the Chinese Communists across the Taiwan Strait, or perhaps the North Koreans will have another attempt at 'liberating' South Korea, or what about the 'German people's volunteers' (the East German Army) suddenly 'liberating' West Berlin to see what Nato does?

In short, not only will the betrayal of Hong Kong create a massive refugee problem. It will also cause a raising of tension throughout the world. The ROC on Taiwan could not afford to assume that the Chinese Communists would not try to invade. As the United States would seem less reliable than hitherto because they had appeared to approve of Britain's Hong Kong betrayal, the ROC would seek other

alliances, and increase its already high state of preparedness. Clearly, South Korea could do the same.

If a Nato power, such as Britain, can 'negotiate' 5½ million people into Communist slavery, some 2½ million of which are, by Britain's own severe standards, entitled to a limited form of British citizenship, then clearly the Nato powers are not to be relied upon, especially if the threatened people happen to be of any colour other than white, or of any race other than European.

The British Government is of course, trying to make the best possible arrangements it can, without actually antagonizing the Chinese Communists. It is always sound common sense not to antagonize anyone, especially when, as in the Hong Kong situation, the Chinese Communists can make life very difficult.

However, the argument advanced by those who advocate trusting the Communists, (because they claim that there is no alternative,) is that the Chinese Communists will allow the right conditions for Hong Kong to prosper, because they are already getting so much benefit from the colony. This is a double-edged argument, because if that is such a compelling reason, then why should they not leave things as they are?

Here we have to take into account the factor of 'face' which is very difficult for occidentals to accept. The Chinese Communists will be very concerned about 'face', because to the Chinese 'face' is very important indeed. There is evidence that Mrs Thatcher did not and does not appreciate this to the extent that she might. The resolute lady of the Falklands victory has many admirable qualities, but the ability to understand the all important subtleties of ancient Chinese culture is clearly not among them.

If Hong Kong is lost to the Chinese Communists through a lack of negotiating skill on the part of Britain, the British will have demonstrated to the whole world, but more importantly, to the whole of Asia, that they just do not have the patience or skill to deal with the rulers of 1,000 million Chinese. That is assuming of course that the other more damaging reasons for Britain's sell-out have not already been accepted.

Clearly the financial prizes will go to Taiwan and Singapore as confidence is eroded with the ROC probably gaining the most, subject to what intimidatory pressures the Chinese Communists may try to place upon those who go there.

Once again, the question of 'face' will come into play. The Chinese Communists will undoubtedly place great pressure upon Britain and other trading countries to make concessions so that 'face' is saved for the Beijing regime. Indeed this has already happened over a property speculation the Communists made on a rising market in Hong Kong. When I visited the colony, I was shown the site, and told that the Chinese authorities had not tried to use any political leverage to obtain an advantageous price. They had paid the market price like any good

capitalist. This was taken as a good omen for the future. Unfortunately, the speculation did not turn out quite as expected and of course the value dropped. The dismayed Hong Kong authorities were, it is rumoured, obliged to make good the loss to the Communists in a secret deal. It had to be kept secret to prevent the Communists losing 'face'.

It is quite obvious that once actual power is handed over to the Chinese Communists, no matter what 'guarantees' are given, the fate of the colony and its people will be in the hands of a regime which recognizes no morality other than that which is expedient to the Communist Party at any given moment. The Communist Party leaders regard the entire colony as a source of 'spiritual pollution', the profits of which while being extremely useful, must not be allowed to blunt the ideological awareness of the Chinese people. Clearly those members of the regime who have to be in contact with the 'pollution' will have to be carefully monitored. Their monitors will be monitored, and so on, until the crushing weight of the entire Communist ideology does to Hong Kong and its international trade what it has done to trade and initiative everywhere in the world where it has had the opportunity and power.

International consequences

The international consequences will be that Britain will have demonstrated to the world that its proclaimed views about Human Rights and self-determination are worthless, when applied to 5 or 6 million Chinese. If these values for which, so we are told, Britain gave their lives in the Falklands, were worth anything, we would have at least given the people of Hong Kong the option they clearly deserve, and would want, of either joining the ROC or, at least, keeping the status quo until the 'China question' (the civil war) is finally resolved.

It is no part of Britain's responsibility to take sides with the Communist rebels in Beijing by handing over both the people and the property of Hong Kong which those rebels have never controlled. The 'Treaty' is irrelevant because the Chinese have renounced it. Only the welfare of the people of Hong Kong therefore is relevant. If that is betrayed, who will be next? The international impact will be enormous because there is no exact precedent for such a situation. The situation is pointed up more sharply because of the Falklands war, because of Britain's stand over Gibraltar, and because of the continued independence of West Berlin.

President Reagan has committed his support to the Falklands and to West Berlin as well as supporting Taiwan. How much credibility will he or any of his allies, (including Britain) have in the commitment against international Communism, about which both President Reagan and Mrs Thatcher have been most vocal — if on legalistic argument of dubious validity millions of British Chinese are handed over to a Communist regime?

It is acknowledged that the world was impressed by the British stand against the forceable occupation of the Falklands by a dictatorial regime. The US impressed the world with its Grenada operation which Britain shamefully failed to support (was it because the people were black?).

If the Western and European powers are genuinely concerned about freedom and Human Rights, they cannot possibly condone the betrayal of the people of Hong Kong, and try to appease the Chinese Communists by yielding to their possible or potential threats.

The international community will be watching closely as to what happens over Hong Kong. If Britain betrays the people, who have served the British Crown for so many generations, then conclusions will be drawn all over the world, particularly in Asia. This will be to the detriment of the non-Communist world in general, and to Britain and its Nato allies in particular.

It is reliably reported that Stalin was contemplating the invasion of Yugoslavia until the Americans and their allies unexpectedly went to the aid of South Korea and resisted the Communist aggression from North Korea. He realised that the Western allies had not lost the will to fight and defend their friends and their mutual strategic interest. What happens in Asia therefore, does affect what happens in Europe.

The same will be of Hong Kong, particularly if, to borrow Hitler's phrase about the Sudetenland, Hong Kong is handed over 'on a silver platter'.

Chapter 7

WHAT BRITAIN CANNOT ESCAPE FROM

‘Hong Kong fears a sell-out,’ declared a headline in the international section of the prestigious weekly *The Economist*, published in London (7-13 January 1984 issue). It carried the damning subheading, ‘Only the well-off need apply for refuge in Britain’. The special correspondent in Hong Kong reported, ‘China is showing increasing irritation towards those members of the Chinese community in Hong Kong who presume to criticize the Chinese proposals. Nowhere is this hostility more evident than towards the Chinese members of the Executive and Legislative Councils through which the Governor administers Hong Kong’.

The article goes on to refer to the ‘thorny question’ of accepting refugees from Hong Kong, and states that a number of Members of Parliament believe that the Chinese takeover should be implemented before ‘the dying of authority of Britain over Hong Kong results in local unrest’.

The significance of the report in *The Economist* is that it is undoubtedly one of, if not the most successful and influential quality publications for the professional business and other decision-makers in the country. It is usually ahead of the field.

The Economist is not alone, of course. The writer of this Monograph has also sounded warnings when he was editor of *Intelligence Digest*, and in a commentary published in the December 1983 issue of *Asian Outlook*. This warned against a view in the British Parliament that there was ‘no alternative’ but to trust the Chinese Communists.

The January 1984 riots in Hong Kong were briefly reported on British television, and appeared to have taken the authorities by surprise. Reports later claimed that ‘criminal elements’ had taken advantage of the taxi strike to indulge in looting and destruction. That they were the worst since those of the Mainland ‘Cultural Revolution’ is no coincidence.

There is clearly a feeling that as the deadline comes closer, and the economy runs down, there will be increasing unemployment. While the rich and prosperous can escape, those at the bottom of the economic scale will become surplus to requirements. The drabness and poverty which most of the rioters escaped from in Communist China will once again overtake them. Therefore they took what they could while the going was good.

The British are at the moment becoming, increasingly aware of the betrayal and tragedy of sending many East Europeans back to Stalin's Russia against their will. They were either immediately murdered or dispatched to Siberia to perish in death camps. These facts have been known for some time, but the policy of releasing confidential government records after 30 years has contributed to the evidence which shows that a number of British politicians and government civil servants behaved in a cynical or callous manner.

There are a number of MPs, who are deeply suspicious of the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office. These are beginning to realize that the Hong Kong 'problem', like other 'problems', cannot be disposed of without regard to the national and international consequences.

There are many Hong Kong Chinese in Britain with relatives in the Crown colony and also in Communist China. They will undoubtedly raise their voices and the public consciousness if the Hong Kong Chinese are simply 'sold out' to the Chinese Communists.

The talk of a 50 year guarantee by Beijing assures no one, because it is realized that once actual power is handed over, there is little that anyone can do to prevent 'guarantees' being eroded.

This has been the bitter lesson of Rhodesia/Zimbabwe and the Lancaster House Constitution. I well remember visiting Rhodesia/Zimbabwe during the period of UDI, and warning Mr Ian Smith's advisers that the British Government would not back any return to legality, even when the Conservatives under Mrs Thatcher got control, unless there was majority rule. Few seemed to believe me.

There is of course, no comparison between Hong Kong and Zimbabwe/Rhodesia, except in the common factor that British 'guarantees' cannot be relied upon, and that once power is handed over, that is that.

Hong Kong is leased, but the Island and Kowloon are 'British' for ever regardless of what either Beijing or Taipei say. That is, or should be the British position, because that is exactly the British position about The Falklands, Gibraltar and other territories. Having fought a war with a non-Communist nation to defend 'our sovereignty and our people' it is going to be difficult for Britain to refuse to take a stronger line with the Chinese Communists. To the question 'Are you suggesting a war with China if necessary?' the answer has to be 'yes'. Otherwise, we have to explain that because Communist China is 'big', and Argentina is not, we will let the Chinese Communists do what we would not let the Argentinians do.

Of course we would not be alone because, as has already been said, the ROC on Taiwan could hardly refuse to give every kind of assistance to Hong Kong, which it claims of course as part of the Republic of China.

Britain's only excuse for its negotiations so far is that it is trying to come to terms with the most immediate threat to the people of Hong

Kong. Should it however actually hand over 'British citizens' to a Communist regime against the wishes of those citizens when there are two clear alternatives? These are:

1. Keep the citizens and the colony which never belonged to Communist China, as it has always been until the Chinese dispute is resolved.
2. Give the citizens the choice of joining the ROC by declaring that Hong Kong is part of the ROC.

If the British Government does not do either of these, then it is honour bound to offer to all those entitled to a British passport, sanctuary in Britain, together with a quota system of their relatives, as it has done with immigrants from other Commonwealth countries.

Of course there is no real comparison, because there is no comparable situation to Hong Kong. As Britain believes in the rights of people to determine their own future, and in Human Rights, it cannot simply deny these fundamental values to millions of people who enjoy the protection of the British Crown, on the grounds of treaty and diplomatic technicalities.

It will be a betrayal, and after the Falklands War, it will smack of the worst kind of racism. Because they are not of European stock, they do not matter, they are expendable. Thus, the Falklands sacrifice will be dishonoured by the blatant double standard. Mrs Thatcher and her advisers will rightly be condemned. People will rightly ask why it was so necessary to send a task force to the Falklands? It would after all have been much easier to resettle the 1,800 Islanders than to resettle the 5½ million Chinese in Hong Kong.

There will be a mutual reaction against Britain among the overseas Chinese throughout the world. Above all, Anglo-US relations will also suffer, because, despite 'friendly exchanges' between Washington and Beijing, the ROC has maintained a very efficient lobby in Washington. The Taiwan Relations Act is the formal structure of the special relationship which has been forged between Taiwan and the United States. It is extremely unlikely that the Free Chinese in Washington, or anywhere else, are going to let Britain or the free world forget a betrayal of the Hong Kong people by Britain — a country which has professed such values as Human Rights and self-determination.

Refugee flood

There will, of course, be political pressures in Britain, as people are torn between the fear of a flood of Chinese refugees and the belief that had things been handled differently, Hong Kong could have been saved.

If the Falklands gave Britain a sense of pride because, as Defence Minister Mr Michael Heseltine said: 'It showed that Britain was prepared to defend its territory and its people', then Hong Kong will give Britain a sense of shame.

The fact that Hong Kong Chinese were involved in the Falklands war will only add to the bitter irony of that shame.

When Mr Heseltine made his remark, he addressed it to the Communist regime in Moscow, and hoped that the Soviet leaders would take note. No doubt the same Soviet leaders will also note how Britain behaves over Hong Kong.

West Berlin is 'indefensible' yet since the Berlin Blockade, freedom has flourished as an island, in a sea of drab Communist tyranny, because the West displayed the political will to resist Communist pressures and threats. If Britain shows that it lacks the political will to protect the freedom of its people in Hong Kong, others will conclude that it also lacks the political will to defend freedom elsewhere.

If Britain can yield up its citizens and its sovereign territory to a Communist regime which seized power from the legitimate government through help from Stalin's Russia, then why not adjust other borders where the regime is much more sympathetic? Apart from the illogicality and expense of 'Fortress Falklands', long claimed by the Argentines and the obsolete 'Fortress Gibraltar', long claimed by Spain, what about Northern Ireland?

The Province of Ulster contains 9 counties, but the British province of Northern Ireland contains only 6, the other 3 being excluded to maintain a pro-British Anglo-Irish majority. Successive British Governments have insisted that Northern Ireland must remain British so long as the majority of the inhabitants of the province wish to remain so, even though successive Governments of the Republic of Ireland have claimed that Northern Ireland is part of the Republic of Ireland, and that eventually the country must be united.

In other words, the attitude of the Dublin Governments is not unlike those of the Governments of Taipei, Beijing, Madrid and Buenos Aires, namely that the British presence is the legacy of empire and the product of an unequal treaty.

If Britain can hand over 5½ million Chinese in Hong Kong to a Communist dictatorship against the wishes of those people, (a referendum would displease Beijing, as the kind of democratic 'spiritual pollution' it is currently campaigning against), then why are British people being killed and maimed, even on the streets of London, to maintain the British presence in Northern Ireland?

Once again the American Irish, who have never understood the complexities of Northern Ireland, will conclude that the only thing that Britain really respects is force. The Chinese Communists have more force at their disposal than either the Argentines or the Spanish or the Irish, so the Chinese Communists got what they wanted. The conclusion will be to reinforce the IRA (Irish Republican Army) argument that more terrorism, more bombings and killings will bring results, because that is the only language Britain really understands.

Perhaps one day there may be a government in Dublin which will actively enlist aid from either the Soviet Union or Communist China,

and give active support to the IRA campaign both in Northern Ireland and on the mainland of Britain.

It should not be forgotten that the war against the European Rhodesians was supported by Beijing as well as Moscow, and that I picked up Chinese Communist mortar fins, the bombs of which had killed European farmers, in the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe/Rhodesia.

In short, if Britain either by accident or design allows Hong Kong to be seized by the Communists, or to be slowly taken over by the Communists, there will be political and economic repercussions which could also have military and security implications.

To many in Britain right now, Hong Kong may be a 'faraway colony' about which they know little or nothing. Like the Falklands however, benign neglect will produce a serious political and military crisis. Because of the sheer numbers of people involved, and the obvious moral and political cowardice and/or opportunism involved, the consequences will be felt in Britain for a long time including those relating to its international standing.

Any future British Prime Minister, including of course Mrs Thatcher, who pledges to resist Communist aggression, and pledges support for the rights of people to self-determination, will have the Hong Kong betrayal hung round their necks like a dead albatross. Hong Kong will simply make a mockery of everything Britain stands for, unless it is for a neo-Nazi type of white racial superiority which believes that non-Europeans do not really appreciate freedom and self-determination as do Europeans. Hardly a way in which to promote Britain's image in a world in which the Europeans are a minority and who are no longer the dominant race.

Hong Kong is clearly a British responsibility and, putting aside any altruistic motives, self-interest should determine that it remains where it always has been, and clearly belongs in the free world of evolving democratic values. True, Britain has never encouraged the people of Hong Kong to rise above colonial status. That is no excuse, however, for imposing upon them a Communist dictatorship which is far more oppressive.

Chapter 8

HONG KONG PROFILE

Hong Kong is more than it appears to be to most people, more than a Crown colony which is a freewheeling private enterprise enclave comprising mainly of cheap labour and rich financiers — an exotic oriental jewel in what was once the British Imperial Crown.

To those who have the eyes to see, it is all that and much more. It has become an important political pawn in a clever Chinese Communist manoeuvre to take possession not only of Hong Kong but also of Taiwan, and to discredit and exclude from Asia all the former colonial powers, including the United States. This would make Communist China the most powerful and influential country in Asia, and thus a world Communist superpower.

Thus, not only will all the overseas Chinese see that the 'West', as it is known, is in retreat, but so also will the peoples of Asia. Capitalism will be discredited, because once Taiwan is 'reunited', any remaining freedoms left in Hong Kong will be extinguished. The former Crown colony will have served its main purpose in the Beijing strategy.

That Hong Kong is 'Chinese' is indisputable, but what cannot be disputed is that it is not, and has never been Communist Chinese'. The colony now raises this issue. Can a Communist regime, against all historical evidence, and by some miraculous formula, make 'private enterprise capitalism' work, and thus allow Hong Kong to continue when the lease, recognized by neither the Chinese Communists in Beijing, nor the Free Chinese in Taipei, expires?

Having examined the earlier history of the colony, let us take a brief look at the area of some 200 islands and islets, the main island being Hong Kong Island, and the portion of the Chinese mainland east of the Pearl River estuary adjoining the Chinese Province of Guangdong (Kwangtung). The total area is 1061.72 Sq.Km. Victoria, on Hong Kong Island is the capital and commercial centre.

Hong Kong Island (76.2.Sq.Km.) is by far the most 'British' in atmosphere, and of course constitutes the main and oldest part of 'sovereign' British territory. The entire colony consists mostly of steep, unproductive hillside containing a small percentage of agricultural land (about 9.4% in the New or leased territories, with some 15.7% being built up area). The climate is subtropical and monsoonal — the winter being cool and dry, and the summer being hot and humid.

The estimated population is some 5½ million, although no reliably accurate figure is available. Of that 5½ million, some 98% are Chinese, and 57% of these are born within the colony. Cantonese is the spoken language of the majority of the people. Several other dialects are also spoken. The English and Chinese languages are given equal status and use in government and business.

To British visitors who stray from the usual tourist areas, it is surprising to find that many, if not the majority of Chinese speak no English — even those in higher educational establishments.

Religion in Hong Kong embraces the predominant Buddhism and Taoism as well as Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Judaism and Sikhism.

Government Constitution

Hong Kong is administered under 'Letters Patent' of 1917 by a Governor, an Executive Council, and a Legislative Council. Do not get the idea, however, that there is 'democracy' in the traditional British sense, because there is not. Hong Kong is 'administered' efficiently, and kept on a tight rein with political parties being 'discouraged', so that friction with Communist China can be avoided.

Many British Members of Parliament now regret that over the past 30 years we have not encouraged the development of true local democracy so that the people could decide their own future. This would not, of course, include joining the Communists, who have so mismanaged the mainland for 30 plus years.

The Executive Council is Hong Kong's equivalent of the Cabinet, and it curbs or dilutes the otherwise absolute power of the Governor. It advises the Governor who then orders. No legislation is introduced into the Legislature without the Ex Co's authority. No government policy or any change in existing policy is made without the prior 'advice' and agreement of the 'Governor-in-Council'.

Its Constitution, laid down by 'Royal Instructions', (British Government) decrees that the four senior members of the Government — the Chief Secretary, Financial Secretary, Attorney General and Secretary for Home Affairs, are ex-officio, as is the Commandant of the British forces. There is one other government appointee, but the remaining nine are all 'Unofficials', members from the private sector.

The Legislative Council's function was described by the former Governor, then Sir Murray MacLehose, in 1975.

'Members can call directly for confidential government files about cases which come to their attention, as indeed they frequently do . . . They collaborate positively in the preparation of legislation, and by intervention constantly influence administration . . . To perform their role in the Chamber, of opposition or support or spur as their judgement dictates, requires very considerable experience . . . lacking, as is unavoidable, any electoral mandate, members are required to try and think and plan and speak for the interests of the community as a

whole as they see it, and not, as would be so much easier, for the narrow interests of a party, a group, a profession, an area or a class.' (Hong Kong Hansard 1975-6pp 44-5).

It is interesting to note the official explanation for the 'unavoidable' absence of any mandate from the people, and how this complete denial of democracy is really a good thing because it keeps out 'narrow interests' of political or other parties.

What the Governor was really talking about, but of course could not admit, (he would have been dismissed if he had) was that the introduction of political parties and elections would produce a powerful Kuomintang party and representation. The Communists would respond by denouncing the elections as fraudulent. They would instigate riots and terrorist attacks, and do everything to disrupt the colony.

There is no history of any Communist regime being interested in having any election, the outcome of which it could not guarantee in its own favour.

Naturally, within limits, the British policy is justified. Without the 'provocation' of showing the world that the majority of the Chinese in Hong Kong prefer the KMT, the Chinese Communists have left the colony alone to prosper, and of course to earn massive foreign currency for the failed Communist economy of mainland China.

There comes a time, however, when a denial of democracy can no longer be justified. That is when the people are being handed over to a brutal dictatorship.

Justice

English Common Law and the Rules of Equity are in force in Hong Kong, so far as they are applicable to local circumstances. They have been extended and modified by subsequent enactments and by Hong Kong ordinances.

The courts in Hong Kong include the Supreme Court (consisting of the Court of Appeal and the High Court,) the District Court, the Magistrates Court, the Coroners Court and the Tenancy, Labour, Lands and Small Claims Tribunals.

The death penalty, however, which exists in both Communist China and the ROC on Taiwan, is not applicable to Hong Kong, because it has been abolished in the United Kingdom (except for treason and arson of Royal Dockyards). There have been unofficial requests to have the death penalty in Hong Kong for murder, but these have, of course, got nowhere, because such a situation would be unacceptable to the British Parliament.

Economy

The success of Hong Kong as a leading manufacturing complex and major commercial centre in Asia, stems from an economic policy of free enterprise and free trade, an industrious workforce, a sophi-

sticated commercial infrastructure, a fine harbour, a conveniently located airport, and excellent worldwide communications.

There are over 46,000 manufacturing establishments, employing some 900,000 workers. The Employment Ordinance is the basis for governing the terms of employment for most workers. Standard working hours for women and young people aged 15 to 17 are 8 hours a day, and 48 hours a week. There is no statutory restriction on the hours of work for male workers aged 18 and above. A recent survey showed that the average working week was about 49 hours.

There is a considerable 'black economy' however, which it is impossible to monitor or control. The closeness of Chinese families, and the influx of 'illegals' (escapes from Communist China) has added to this sector.

The basic Hong Kong philosophy can be summed up by the Taoist sage, Lao Tsu, who lived about 600 BC and who was a contemporary of Confucius. He said: 'The world is best ruled by letting things take their course. It cannot be ruled by interfering,' and 'Do not intrude in their homes. Do not harass them at work. If you do not interfere they will not weary of you.' (Lao Tsu: Tao Te Ching).

Or as the British say, 'Live and let live'.

The basis for the present prosperity in Hong Kong can be found in the report of the Department of Supplies, Trade and Industry for 1946, 'While the merchants natural belief in laissez-faire could not be fully accepted, it was recognized that the fullest freedom compatible with the welfare of the people and international obligations must be accepted.'

In his first Annual Address to the Legislative Council in 1982, the new Governor said:

'It will I think become evident to Honourable Members as I review the activities of the Government that its philosophy and objectives remain unchanged . . . (In the economic field) . . . it aims to leave the industrial, commercial and financial sectors free and unfettered to compete in domestic and world markets, regulating only where the orderly conduct of business, fair treatment of the workforce and the good name of Hong Kong so require. More positively it aims to provide the infrastructure and the environment in which modern techniques and good industrial relations can flourish, and initiative and hard work bring their rewards. Only thus can our economy adjust continuously and grow.'

In his first Budget speech in 1982 the Financial Secretary, former Chairman of Cathay Pacific Airways, and of a multinational group of companies, and a resident of Hong Kong for 30 years said:

'Our entrepreneurs and industrialists are nimble on their feet, adept at seeking and turning to good account new opportunities, motivated by profits that arise from free markets open to all the talents, and unfettered by heavy taxation. They are well served by our labour force, which is hard working and highly motivated. Thus in our

business community the successful prosper. The unsuccessful are not carried by government subsidy. Businesses either sink or swim as they adapt to changing competitive conditions. A policy directed towards the survival of the fittest may seem harsh and unfeeling, but it has been shown to be appropriate in the particular circumstances of Hong Kong. As a community we cannot afford to carry industrial or commercial failures.'

Can you get any further from the Marxist philosophy than that?

There is one sentence in the 1982 Budget speech which summed up the attitude of the Government. 'It should be clearly understood that the whole long term purpose of our policy of encouragement of the creation of wealth is not to enable the rich to get richer, but rather to achieve an improving standard of life in all its aspects for the whole community.'

In the decade up to 1982, the average real per capita income doubled, housing stock was increased, unemployment was low, and free compulsory education to the age of 16 was introduced. All this was despite a constant flow of 'illegals' (refugees from the failed Chinese Communist economic system).

Hong Kong's position and its relationship to China has played a large part in its growth. In the five years 1976-81, the value of domestic exports to Communist China multiplied 120 times from \$24 million to \$2,924 million and China has become the largest source of goods re-exported from Hong Kong. Something in excess of 31% of the total value of re-exports originated in Communist China. China, also, was by far the largest market for re-export of goods emanating from other countries.

Despite this, however, the China trade accounted for only some 5% of the world wide total trade upon which Hong Kong's commerce is based.

Hong Kong is situated midway between Beijing and Indonesia, and halfway between Tokyo and India, with West Coast American financiers closing as Hong Kong opens, and London markets opening as Hong Kong's close. As was commented at an International Arbitration Conference held in Hong Kong in 1982:

'One of the fundamental world changes in the past two decades has been the rise of the Orient as a trading and financial area. Think of the countries bordering the Pacific basin; Japan, California, Australia, China like a slumbering giant being roused by the four modernizations; Indonesia, India, only five hours flight from Hong Kong, not to mention Korea, Singapore and Hong Kong itself.'

It is interesting to note that not mentioned was the ROC on Taiwan, whose 18 million Chinese contribute more to world trade than the entire vast population of Communist China. Taiwan is less than 90 minutes flying time from Hong Kong. The official government handbook for 1983 describes Hong Kong thus: 'It is only a highly developed system of commercial law, serviced by both lawyers of

multi-national expertise, and by a judiciary whose integrity and competence are recognized world wide, which can inspire sufficient confidence in the international business community for it to permit any place to become one of its capitals. To be acceptable to strangers and persuade them freely to permit their multi-million dollar deals to be subject to the jurisdiction of the courts, any system of contractual law must be familiar, its rules well known and respected, it must be certain and not arbitrary in operation. Hong Kong's rise as an international commercial and financial capital has been in no small measure due to its possession of these attributes. Certainly without them it would never have occurred, nor could it continue.'

Law

The merchant law of England has developed over the centuries; the principles of English commercial law retain pre-eminence throughout the trading world, despite changing world politics and patterns of trade. They are the model which all the common law jurisdictions follow — American, African, Indian, Australian, Canadian and Commonwealth. From their adoption, Hong Kong's laws gain a strength, familiarity and acceptability they could not otherwise possess.

In short, it is a combination of Hong Kong's constitution and of its laws which have created the international confidence which is the precondition of prosperity. The essential ingredients creating that confidence are the absence of arbitrary power, and the knowledge that unconstitutional changes will not occur.

Can you imagine anything less compatible with the Communist system based upon the 'dictatorship of the proletariat', under the domination of the Communist Party which regards capitalism as 'spiritual pollution'?

In his 1848 Manifesto, published with Engles, Marx wrote: 'Undoubtedly it will be said "there are eternal truths, such as Freedom, Justice etc. that are common to all states of society. But Communism abolishes all religion and all morality, instead of constituting them on a new basis; it therefore acts in contradiction to all past historical experience". 'The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations . . . the proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state . . . of course this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads into the rights of property . . .'

Can you imagine Deng Xiaoping 'We belong to the Marxist camp' allowing the Hong Kong system to survive? Or can you imagine that Deng himself would survive if he did?

Everything that Hong Kong is, everything Hong Kong stands for, everything Hong Kong is built upon and depends upon for its survival, is diametrically opposed to everything Communist China stands for,

everything Communist China is built upon, and depends upon for its survival. The two are irreconcilable, and there is no way in which Communists can successfully administer or control a capitalist system. If they could, they would have either already done it by now, and/or they would not be Communists.

Already, Hong Kong's rivals are showing signs of picking up the business which Hong Kong is losing, as the shadow of Communism is cast darkly across its future.

According to the respected British publication, *The Economist* issue 7-13 January 1984, 'Turnover on the Singapore stockmarket in 1983 increased by 148% to \$11.8 billion — the biggest increase on any of the world's big bourses. Turnover in Hong Kong in the first 11 months of 1983 declined by 28% — the biggest decline of any bourse. In consequence, for the first time in recent history, Singapore's turnover was greater than Hong Kong's. Yet the Singapore market remains narrow and unsophisticated.'

The report which began with Singapore's Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew's prediction that 1984 would see the Island's economy grow by 7%, concluded that unless Singapore tries harder to offer financial markets what they want rather than what it wants, 'it will find it hard to exploit all the gains it could make out of the political uncertainty over the future of free and easy Hong Kong.'

With the Republic of China much closer, in all respects, to Hong Kong, rather than Singapore, it will not take the Government in Taipei long to organize the capture of the markets from a Communist dominated Hong Kong.

The refugee illegals

Hong Kong is more than just a business centre and colonial relic. It is, and has, for decades been, a sanctuary for those who require either permanent or temporary shelter. This has been a tradition for 140 years or more, but the establishment of Communism on the mainland created the same kind of situation we have seen in East Germany and East Berlin. We are still witnessing such a situation in Vietnam, namely, a human tide of refugees voting with their feet against the failed Communist dictatorships.

On 23 October 1980, the Hong Kong Legislative Council took, what some called, dramatic steps, to control the flow of immigrants, by passing laws to control the immigration.

The new legislation provided for the repatriation of all immigrants entering Hong Kong from China illegally after 23 October 1980. Illegal immigrants from China already in Hong Kong who had not until then registered and applied for an identity card, were given a widely advertised and publicized period of 3 days in which to do so. Registration facilities were provided on a 24 hour basis during that period. Those entering Hong Kong illegally from China after that date

were to be arrested and returned to China, even if they 'reached base', (evaded capture, established contact with family or friends, and found proper accommodation). Previously 'reached base' immigrants were allowed to stay.

This legislation did not, of course apply to those who entered Hong Kong from China legally.

'Illegals', (refugees) were no longer eligible for the issue of identity cards, and to help in their detection, all persons resident in Hong Kong were obliged to carry proof of identity at all times. Everyone aged 15 or over, is required to carry either his identity card or one of a specified number of alternative documents proving his identity.

Under the new legislation, employers are disbarred from employing anyone who cannot produce either an identity card, or one of the specified alternative papers. The fact of the matter was that the 'illegals' had been flowing into Hong Kong for three decades. The standards of living in freedom flourished in the colony, while the exact opposite happened in Communist China.

The average rate of growth of population in Hong Kong more than doubled from 2% during 1971-1977 to over 5% in 1979. Including Vietnamese refugees, the total growth rate in 1979 was 6.3%, over five times the natural growth rate of 1.2%. This rate of growth from immigration is unique in Asia.

It is interesting to note that the government report refers to Chinese from Communist China as 'illegals', while Chinese arriving from Vietnam are 'refugees'. This distinction is in deference to Beijing, because the word 'refugee' has a political connotation which is unacceptable to the Communist authorities.

An official Hong Kong Government 'Information paper', states, 'No illegal immigrant can reasonably claim that he is fleeing political, religious or other persecution.' Apart from stating that the vast majority are attracted 'by the bright lights as represented by the visible signs of Hong Kong's economic success', the 'Information paper' offers no evidence to support the claim that there is no persecution in Communist China from which the refugees would wish to flee.

This kind of argument — one suspects it was put into the paper to appease Beijing, yet again — is not new. On the East side of the Berlin Wall, I asked an East German Communist to justify the Wall, with its barbed wire, watch towers, armed guards etc. He replied, 'It is simply an economic protection. Our people were attracted by the bright lights of West Berlin and the false values of West German capitalism. Did not your own country (Britain) impose financial controls to protect its economic life?' When I replied that no British Government had shot its people for trying to leave illegally, he replied, 'Only because it was not necessary — our people were not fleeing persecution. How could they be? There is none? They were simply after what they thought was a better economic life.'

It is disturbing to find the same kind of Communist argument

turning up in an official British 'Information paper', even if it is politically expedient.

Following the government's decision in 1974 to repatriate 'illegal' Chinese immigrants caught in the border area with effect from 30 November of that year, the estimated number of illegals avoiding interception and entering Hong Kong remained at a relatively low level until 1977. The number of illegal entrants then rose rapidly, climbing to an all time high of 102,000 in 1979.

The problem of 'illegals' remains to the present day, despite the barbed wire fence, the special 'security zone' on the British side of the fence, the constant army patrols, road blocks, and sea patrols etc. Some of those caught and returned have turned up no fewer than 6 times. Some try to swim across from Chinese to British territory, and unknown numbers drown.

The 'illegals' were blamed for much of the increased crime rate in the colony. The riots of January 1984 were blamed upon unemployed illegals. However, according to intelligence sources, there are a number of Communist agitators and 'intelligence gatherers' within the colony, who have the capacity to stir up trouble as required.

It is interesting to note that during the January 1984 dispute, some of the aggrieved 'taxi drivers' went to the Chinese Communist 'representative office' in the colony, only to be turned away,

Chinese Communist propaganda however, pointed out that 'Chinese people under colonial rule sought help from their Communist comrades.' The help was refused so as not to 'give the colonialists any excuses.' It is more than likely that the visit to the Chinese Communist office was organized to provide the necessary propaganda, and that the riots were provoked to remind the British and any 'Chinese traitors' that Beijing was a power to be reckoned with.

The growing pressure upon the colony is undoubtedly due to the conditions inside Communist China. In January 1984, the BBC correspondent in Beijing visited Taipei, Taiwan ROC and commented: 'In 1949 the standard of living was the same in Beijing and Taipei. Now in Taipei it is about nine times higher than in Beijing.' The illegals are a constant human reminder of the continuing failure of the Chinese Communist system to fulfil its promise of a better life.

Chapter 9

WHAT MUST BE DONE

The issue is whether or not we are prepared to stand firm and be consistent, and take account of the wishes of the people of Hong Kong, and stop pretending that the Republic of China does not exist simply because, under the 'de facto' policy, we gave diplomatic recognition to the regime in Beijing as being the Government of China. The 'de facto' policy never placed any obligation upon Britain to take sides in a civil war, or to ignore the UN Charter on Human Rights, or to hand over British citizens to a foreign regime against their wishes.

The position of the Republic of China was stated quite clearly in the International Airmail edition of the *China Post*, which was published in Taipei on Saturday 14 January 1984. The editorial stated: 'The reported 50 year transition plan Beijing has for Hong Kong, as confirmed by Hsu Chia-tun, director of the Hong Kong branch of Red China's 'New China News Agency' on 1 January 1984 represents another united front tactic used by the Beijing regime to soften the opposition of the people of Hong Kong against any yielding to Beijing's demands by the British Government.

'Hsu said that Red China will allow Hong Kong to maintain its status quo for 50 years after 1997 when the British lease on most of the territory expires, according to a report by the Hong Kong Asian Television Network. He also told the ATV interviewer that the 50 year transition plan was the officially approved policy of Red China's governing Communist party.

'Hsu's remarks require clarification and confirmation by the British and Hong Kong negotiators to ascertain their authenticity. But even if they are true, the people of Hong Kong still have to be consulted with before any final decision can be reached by the British.

'In this connection the people of the Republic of China consider that the Beijing regime is a usurper of the Chinese mainland, and has no right whatsoever to negotiate with any party on the issue of Hong Kong. Only the Government of the Republic of China is the legitimate depositor of the 99 year lease agreement and the rightful party to any negotiations on Hong Kong's future. Furthermore, it has declared null and void any agreement the British and Hong Kong authorities reach with Beijing, and therefore all efforts by the British and Hong Kong authorities in negotiating a settlement of the issue represents a futile exercise.

'The people of Hong Kong should insist upon their right of self-

determination and not allow their future to be decided by secret negotiations behind closed doors. At stake are not only their livelihood and fortune but also their basic freedom and personal security which will surely be violated by the Chinese Communists once their authority to govern Hong Kong was admitted. The Chinese Communist sugar-coated promises are but a ruse to deceive the British and Hong Kong negotiators as well as the Hong Kong people.

‘The British and Hong Kong negotiators should not rush into any conclusion of the negotiations but rather should wait until a more opportune time to watch the international developments in the next few years. Judging from the turmoil on the Chinese mainland as a result of Den Xiaoping’s massacres, Beijing’s very existence is on trial. As the people on the Chinese mainland are demanding the early return of the Three Principles of the People, the days of the Beijing’s regime are indeed numbered.

‘The people of the Republic of China are most sympathetic to the Hong Kong people’s plight and wish to support their demands in whatever way we can. They count on our support.’

In case you should think that the assessment of the situation on the mainland is just ‘Taiwan rhetoric’, a report from the British *Daily Telegraph* correspondent in Beijing quotes Chinese Communist chief Hu Yaobang’s message to overseas Chinese students from the mainland, assuring them that ‘the situation in Red China is getting better and comrades overseas must not let (the country) down’.

The correspondent reported that there had been a steady stream of defections by low level Red Chinese officials to the West over the past ten years.

Then there is the unprecedented demand made to the United States by Red China’s Olympic Committee spokesman, Wu Chung-yuan, that if any of the 300 athletes which Red China sent to the Olympics defected, then the United States ‘would be held responsible’. Apart from the complete lack of confidence in Communist China’s top athletes which this extra-ordinary demand shows, it also reveals the utter contempt for the accepted rules for political asylum recognized by the civilized world.

Confirmation of the problems within mainland China (I have already documented their preoccupation with ‘spiritual pollution’ from the West in general, and Hong Kong in particular) comes from an article in The *Hongqi* (Red Flag) editorial of 16 September 1983. Calling for a ‘stronger dictatorship’, it mentions ‘a serious antagonistic struggle in the political sphere’, and criticized the mistaken views among some people in cultural circles on ‘the allure of abstract humanity and humanism where social and class nature are abandoned’. The editorial stressed that the class struggle still existed, and that it was necessary to strengthen dictatorship to solve this kind of erroneous view. The article, according to ‘China watchers’, indicates an approaching ‘anti-rightist’ drive.

It is clear that Hong Kong and Communist China are utterly incompatible, and that once power is handed over to Beijing, the slide will begin.

Plenty of options

The idea that Britain has no choice but to do a deal with the Communists does not stand up to serious examination. There is an echo of defeatist arguments from the past which have only encouraged dictators to use force to get what they want. The Beijing regime, beset with internal power and ideological struggles, obsessed with 'combating spiritual pollution' and demanding 'stronger dictatorship', will only be encouraged by Britain's defeatist, resigned attitude. The Beijing regime will embark upon putting pressure upon Hong Kong, and then upon Taiwan, thus creating an unstable situation.

First, let us look at the argument that we have no defence against the '1 billion' Chinese. This assumes that the People's Liberation Army is an efficient, loyal fighting force against which there is no defence.

If this is so, why did it fail to take the island of Kinmen (Quemoy), in 1949 when it landed a substantial force? It was defeated by the Free Chinese, who have held it ever since, even though Kinmen is surrounded by Communist held mainland on three sides, and the nearest Communist positions are only a mile away.

Again, the 'Chinese People's Volunteers' failed to secure the defeat and occupation of South Korea. Outnumbered American and British troops, together of course with many other nations, aided the South Koreans, and secured the freedom of the South.

Again when the 'mighty' PLA went to 'teach Vietnam a lesson' it was in fact humiliated and learned a lesson itself. Also should Beijing initiate hostile action against Hong Kong, Britain would not be alone. The majority of the Hong Kong Chinese have no wish to live under a Communist regime, any more than have the people of West Berlin and they would be prepared to fight.

Moreover, the Republic of China on Taiwan maintains a highly efficient military machine, and the ROC controls the Taiwan Strait and holds the two key islands of Kinmen and Matsu. Not only could the ROC render massive assistance to Hong Kong. It could also launch diversionary attacks across the Taiwan Strait.

If the British defeatists who would betray Hong Kong have not thought of these possibilities, you can be certain that the Communists in Beijing will have done so.

There is also the possibility of uprisings within Communist China. How secure is the border with Vietnam? How subdued is Tibet and what would the Russians really do? And how resentful is India still at the Chinese Communist forceful 'border adjustments'?

In addition to all that, there is the massive disruption to Communist China's already tottering economy. The Beijing leadership is clearly

having great problems in keeping people quiet, while desperately trying to raise living standards. These would need to be increased by 9 or 10 times to match those of Hong Kong and Taiwan.

Much of the restlessness in China is growing from continuing failed fulfilment of expectations, as one excuse after another is exhausted in order to try and explain away why the Chinese everywhere, except those under Communism, seem to be better off. That is what is behind all this 'spiritual pollution' talk

In short, the threat of military action is very much a double-edged weapon. The Beijing leadership know this, even if the British do not. It is worth noting that the Argentines invaded the Falklands because they were convinced that the British would not fight, and that once in possession, it would be 'impossible' for Britain to do anything but accept the situation from 8,000 miles away.

The Falklands could have been settled by offering the 1,800 people compensation, but Britain, backed by the United States, went to war for a 'principle'. We talked of 'sovereignty', and 'self-determination', and the need to resist 'aggression', and protect people from dictatorships which denied Human Rights.

Yet apparently we are going to betray 5½ million people in Hong Kong into Communist slavery.

Let us not forget that when Hitler attacked Poland in 1939, he assured his generals that the Anglo-Polish treaty was useless because, 'any attempt at firm action by the British Government will result in it being overthrown and replaced by the party of peace at any price' (the Labour Party).

The Leader of the Labour Party had declared that it is 'absolutely out of date' to suggest that we 'defend these small islands' (the British Isles) with our own tiny forces. The Labour Party voted against building the aircraft which won the Battle of Britain and, three months before the outbreak of war, voted against introducing conscription in Britain. So Hitler was deceived into believing that he would have an easy victory and a short war.

West Berlin can be occupied by the East Germans and the Soviet army in 30 minutes. Should we then abandon it to Communism?

Now let us look at the argument that all that Chinese Communists have to do is 'turn off the water' and 'blockade' Hong Kong. This kind of treatment has been used against West Berlin, Gibraltar and the Falklands without success. Such an action would of course be very uncomfortable, but it would damage the Communist development in the Pearl River delta as well as depriving Beijing of its much needed foreign currency. It would also drive Hong Kong into the arms of the ROC who would, from well equipped ports and airfields, rush all manner of aid and equipment.

Then there is the 'Chinese terrorist campaign' theory and 'riots'. Once again this can be counterproductive and, can only really succeed if a substantial section of the population want the Communists. They

do not. As Britain has not yielded to such a campaign in Northern Ireland, why should it yield to one in Hong Kong?

The Chinese tried to subdue Kinmen by hurling literally hundreds of thousand of shells at it after their invasion failed. They have now given up.

What Britain must do

If Britain made it clear that it would resist any attempt by Beijing to resort to force, and reserved the right to ask for aid from the ROC, there is no reason to suppose that the Beijing regime would do more than test Britain's resolve, if that. The 'Taiwan card' is a powerful one in the Hong Kong context, and it is only because Britain is planning a sell-out to the Chinese Communists that it has not been mentioned.

Incidentally, for the legally minded, the actual lease is in the safe keeping of the Republic of China in Taipei, and if the property is to be surrendered to anyone, it should be to the lease holders in Taipei and not to the usurpers in Beijing.

The whole attitude of the British to date has been simply that as nothing can be done to keep Hong Kong from the Communists then Britain had better make the best deal it can, and hope for the best. This is absolutely wrong, and is a policy which is doomed to create an unstable situation.

By its present policy, Britain is, in fact, taking sides with the Communists in a civil dispute, and making a complete mockery of all the values which the British soldiers are supposed to have died for on the Falklands.

Worst of all, we will be announcing to the world that we will bow to what we consider to be superior force. Dictators and military adventurers the world over will be encouraged. This was the very thing that President Reagan said must not happen when he gave Britain support in retaking the Falklands.

Sinister Communist idea

The Chinese Communists have already floated a sinister idea for a 'free' election through their chief spokesman on Hong Kong, Mr Ji Pengfei, who floated the concept of a quota election in which a third of elected members would be pro-Beijing, a third pro-British, and a third neutral.

Since the so called pro-British quota will obligingly support the British view, namely, that it will be 'unrealistic' to think of anything but a Beijing authority after 1997, the 'neutral' quota will, by definition be neutral. This means that the outcome will, predictably, support anything Beijing requires.

Of course for 'neutral' you could read 'Taiwan', but it would be more than any Communist spokesman's life would be worth (literally) to suggest that anyone could possibly support the 'reactionary clique' in Taiwan.

This gives us a glimpse of the kind of fake free elections the Chinese Communists are contemplating to try and deceive everyone that Hong Kong will enjoy 'autonomy'. Communists do not allow elections the outcome of which they cannot either control or guarantee.

It was no doubt with this unpleasant truth in mind that two delegations arrived in London from Hong Kong in time for the House of Commons debate on 16 May 1984. The first represented the 'unofficial' (non civil service) members of the colony's appointed ruling councils and was led by Sir Sze-yuen Chung. It argued that while Parliament may cede sovereignty over the territory, it cannot deprive British nationals of their status. In a press statement the delegation commented: **'The inescapable fact is that the Chinese Government is committed to a policital philosophy which is at best incompatible with and at worst hostile to the philosophy on which the various systems and freedoms enjoyed by Hong Kong today rest.'**

The second delegation led by Dr Ding Lik-kiu represented the 'grass roots' and advocated the democratization of the colony's constitution before Britain handed over administration in 1997.

British Marxists

The British people have witnessed within their own country a dramatic example of how ruthlessly Marxists react to elections and constitutions which deny them power. The Marxist dominated National Union of Mineworkers Executive Council had three times called for a national miners' strike and three times, in a secret ballot, the membership refused to give the Marxists the strike they wanted. So the rules and union constitution were manipulated to try and impose a national strike. In the words of a former Communist, writing in *The Times* on 14 May 1984, the democratic rights of workers were 'cynically denied' as thousands of Marxist inspired strike enforcers roamed the country, struggling with the police and intimidating working miners, their wives and children, in an attempt to close coal mines and allied installations which were still working because the workers had been denied a secret ballot by their Marxist union leaders.

A truly democratic Hong Kong could have the following theoretical options:

1. To remain as it is with a nominal British presence.
2. To accept Beijing's nominal sovereignty.
3. To accept Taipei's nominal sovereignty.
4. To join with, and be integrated in, Communist China.
5. To join with, and be integrated in, Free China.
6. To continue independently until China is once more united.

No doubt the Hong Kong Chinese would steer a very careful course in order to preserve their interests. That might not suit everyone in London, Beijing or Taipei, but it would be far preferable to the policy of trusting the Communists.

Joint administrations with Communists just do not work. The most

glaring example is Berlin, which is still theoretically administered jointly by the four wartime allies, France, the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union. We all know what happened, while the three 'capitalist' allies had no problem, the Soviet sector became a prison with the notorious Berlin Wall, to keep people from escaping.

What will the Chinese People's Liberation Army be doing after 1997? Will it be in Hong Kong? According to Mr Li Chuwen, deputy director of China's Xinhua news agency in Hong Kong, which is regarded as China's unofficial embassy in the colony, it will probably be in Hong Kong, for he is reported as saying: 'Britain has soldiers here. Within its borders, a country can put its army where it likes.' As Mao said 'Power springs from the muzzle of a gun.'

Within Communist China it is interesting to note that there has been, and still is, economic confusion, with reports that Beijing is cancelling new projects as fast as the planning bureaucrats in the provinces approve them. As one observer commented, after some 5,300 schemes had been scrapped: 'Foreigners wonder whether theirs will be the next to go. Which is why they hesitate about investing in Hong Kong.'

Perhaps they still remember Communist promises made to businessmen in Shanghai many years ago, a city which today, to a Western eye, looks like a heavily populated ghost town.

In Britain, and even in Hong Kong, there has been considerable fudging and self-delusion. When the Beijing regime offers 'autonomy and freedom', much is made of these 'guarantees'. What is ignored is the small print or conditions, which are to be found in any Communist freedom. Freedom of course, but not freedom to 'slander' the People's Republic of China (no opposition to Communism; no quoting Dr Sun Yat-sen's analysis of the failure and unsuitability of Marx's theories to China etc). There must be no 'counter-revolutionary activity' (no opposition to the Communist leaders in Beijing; no support for the ROC in Taiwan, and of course no agitation for elections which could result in either of the above two 'spiritual pollutions' contaminating the revolution).

The Chinese people have shown in both Taiwan and Hong Kong, that given freedom, they can prosper, just as they have shown on the mainland, that like all other people shackled to an obsolete, incorrect economic theory called Marxism, they cannot prosper.

The 'realists', (read defeatists) said that Britain could not stand alone and isolated in 1940. They were wrong. The same philosophy of 'realism' gave Berlin no chance at the beginning of the blockade, or the ROC on Taiwan after the loss of the mainland. More recently, it surfaced again before the Falklands conflict.

Britain, however, adopted the 'Resolute Approach', and refused to consider either failure or defeat. That is what is now required in the Hong Kong situation.

The Communist regime in Beijing needs to be told that Britain has

no intention of intervening in Chinese affairs. It will not compel the Hong Kong people, who have trusted their lives to Britain, to accept a regime or political philosophy against their will. Under the United Nations Charter of Human Rights, Britain is responsible for seeing that those rights are protected, and that the people have the right to choose either to join with Beijing, or Taipei, or remain as they are until the Chinese dispute is settled.

The Communist regime should be left in no doubt that any attempt at coercion or aggression will be resisted, and that Britain will not hesitate to call upon help from any quarter. Beijing will be held responsible for the consequences of any aggressive action which attempts to take away from the people of Hong Kong their freedom, Human Rights, dignity and right to decide their own destiny within the Chinese context.

This should not be done publicly, because the Chinese Communists have enough problems without suffering loss of face. This is more important in the Orient than is generally recognized in the West.

Those who say 'trust Beijing' because it is in Beijing's own interest that Hong Kong should continue to prosper, cannot have it both ways. If Beijing tries to take Hong Kong by force, it may have to pay an unacceptably high price. At its lowest, it will simply destroy the capitalist goose which is laying golden eggs for everyone, including the Communists. At its highest, it could plunge China into chaos and restart the civil war. The British and their friends must not be influenced by the myth that Communist China is a great 1,000 million people monolith, ready to march to the command of its leaders in Beijing.

The closing of the 'Democracy Wall' (embarrassing questions were being asked about prosperity in Taiwan), the present purge of the Chinese Communist party, the calls for the strengthening of the 'dictatorship', the desperate and hardly credible use of the 'Gang of Four' as scapegoats for three decades of failure, all indicate that the Beijing leadership cannot be certain of the comrades in the Communist party and the People's Liberation Army, let alone the '1,000 million'.

A leadership which is so preoccupied with 'spiritual pollution', (values and concepts taken for granted outside a Communist dictatorship) is clearly feeling very insecure.

The British and American peoples value and enjoy freedom, as do the people of Western Europe and West Berlin. It is now recognized that 40 years ago, the West made grave mistakes at Yalta, for which the people of China are still paying a heavy price.

Every member of Parliament, and every Congressman who is opposed to Communism must accept responsibility for the future 5½ million people in Hong Kong.

In the Falklands, the people were not threatened with a totalitarian ideology which advocated world revolution by all and every means. Both Britain and the United States, however, agreed that the

forceable seizure of the islands, if allowed to go effectively unchallenged, would leave the world a much more dangerous place.

How much more dangerous will it be if we allow the 5½ million people under British protection, many of them British citizens living on British sovereign territory, to be swallowed up by a Communist tyranny dedicated ultimately to world revolution?

After Hong Kong, what will be next? West Berlin? South Korea? Taiwan? West Germany, or your country? We have tried appeasing dictators, and found that to our cost, it does not work. Must we learn the lesson again?

Postscript

A POSSIBLE RESCUE?

There is, of course, one development which could, and some predict will, come to the rescue of the people of Hong Kong, regardless of what the British Government does. This is the collapse of the Chinese Communist regime, and the restoration of the legitimate government in Beijing.

Clearly such a possibility is no excuse for Britain to abandon its responsibilities to the British citizens of the colony, or to the refugees who have fled from Communist China. There has however, been an interesting development.

On Sunday 11 March 1984, the London BBC Radio Four religious affairs programme quoted the exiled Tibetan spiritual and temporal leader, the Dalai Lama, as stating that his people in Tibet were forecasting the collapse of the Beijing regime 'within 15 years'.

He was commenting on Chinese Communist invitations to return to Tibet, and their promises that he would not be molested in any way. He has declined to return, because neither he or his people in Tibet trust the Communists. They suspect that he will be 'kept prisoner in Beijing on some pretext', and thus isolated from his people.

The Tibetan experience is a clear warning to the British Government and the people of Hong Kong of what to expect from Beijing. Under an 'Agreement on measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet', which the Tibetans were obliged to sign, as with the British in Hong Kong, Beijing threatened 'unilateral action' if no agreement was reached, the Tibetan people 'have the right to exercise nationality region autonomy' under Beijing and 'no attempt will be made to alter the existing political system in Tibet', and Beijing 'will not force various reform programmes on Tibet', and 'Officials associated with imperialism and Kuomintang in the past may continue on in their jobs without fear of persecution . . . provided they sever ties with imperialism and Kuomintang and do not engage in sabotage and resistance.'

We all know, and should not forget, what subsequently happened. The Chinese Communists ignored the agreement, accusing anyone who disagreed with them of being either 'Imperialists' or 'Kuomintang saboteurs'. They proceeded with the utmost ruthlessness to put down the rising and resistance which they provoked, forcing the Dalai Lama literally to flee for his life into India while Communist troops hunted

for him. Beijing, clearly believing that he had been killed, announced that he was in fact cooperating with the Communist authorities in restoring order.

So it was that on the 25th anniversary of his dramatic escape, he refused to return, and announced the expectation of the downfall of the Chinese Communist regime in Beijing.

It is clear that the Chinese Communists cannot be trusted. They are unable, also, to tolerate anything which they may call 'imperialism' or 'sabotage' or 'spiritual pollution', but which we would call 'honouring agreements', 'conducting normal business' and 'exercising democratic Human Rights'.

It is equally clear that as the Beijing regime becomes increasingly unstable as the Communist ideology stifles the economy, and the Communists argue and fight amongst themselves about who is to blame, and how matters are to be put right without renouncing their ideology, it is looking for ways to sustain itself from Tibet to Taiwan, including Hong Kong.

The Chinese Communists are trying to square the circle. They need the foreign exchange which they earn through the capitalist system in Hong Kong. They cannot afford however, to acknowledge that Communism cannot provide for the spiritual and material needs of the Chinese people, whose aspirations and expectations are rising, as information seeps through the Communist censorship about life in Hong Kong and Taiwan.

We British have a long and chequered imperial history. Where the Union Jack has flown, we have done good, and particularly by present standards, some not so good. Will the British Parliament, which prides itself in being the mother of freedom and democracy, now close the final chapters of that long history, by handing over to a Communist dictatorship 5½ million people who have placed their lives and trust in the traditional British sense of justice and fair play?

Judging by the debate in the House of Commons on 16 May 1984 the answer could be a fudged sell out. The debate ended without a vote because of the basic agreement between the political parties, namely that Britain had no option but to trust to the good faith and pragmatism of the Chinese Communists.

Britain's Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, spoke of: 'A binding agreement . . . which will be acceptable to the people of Hong Kong. It must be one which we can honourably commend to this House.' He admitted that there could be no absolute guarantee.

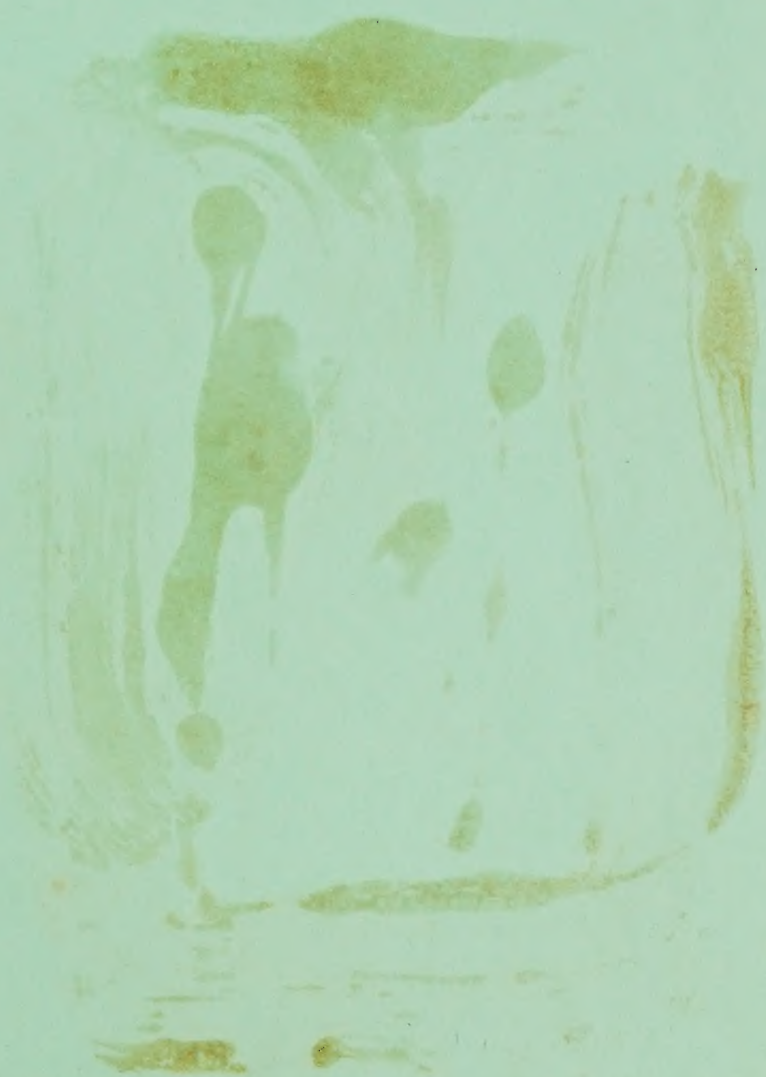
Former Labour Cabinet Minister and now front bench Opposition spokesman, Mr Dennis Healey said that Hong Kong was indefensible against a Chinese Communist takeover. He agreed that Beijing had important interests at stake in the future prosperity of Hong Kong and that Beijing 'cannot afford to damage confidence inside Hong Kong, not just for economic reasons . . . but also because it sees a peaceful agreement over Hong Kong by consent as an important precedent for

a similar settlement in its dispute with Taiwan.' Mr Healey conceded that the British citizens in the colony could, as refugees, present the House with a 'moral dilemma'.

On the floor of the United States Senate on 3 May 1984, Senator Barry Goldwater reminded the American people that Hong Kong is likely to follow in the tragic steps of Tibet after it is put under Chinese Communist rule in 1997. He said that Red China had made many promises to the people of Hong Kong but 'Red China is not known for its consistency of policy.'

A former British Governor of Hong Kong declared: 'The 19th was the British century, the 20th century the American's, the 21st century will be the century of the Chinese.'

Let us hope that this prophecy, together with that of the Dalai Lama, proves to be correct.



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